# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-89-175* *12 September 1989*

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### Military Inspection Team Arrives in West Germany

*LD1109114589 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—A team of Soviet military experts arrived in West Germany today for an on-site inspection of West German military activity.

Prior to that, on September 9, the Soviet Government submitted an official request to carry out the inspection, in keeping with the document of the Stockholm conference on confidence building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

West Germans gave their go-ahead and allowed the inspectors in.

## Officials Voice Reaction to NATO Exercises

### Defense Ministry Notes 'Anxiety'

*LD1109191489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] It is noted in the USSR Defense Ministry with particular anxiety that at the beginning of September the territory of the European NATO countries was transformed by the NATO top brass into a military testing ground. Throughout the whole area, from northern Norway to the eastern borders of Turkey, from Gibraltar to the Elbe, and also in the adjacent waters of the Atlantic, about 20 large-scale general-troop, aviation, and naval exercises began virtually simultaneously.

In the scale and nature of tasks being carried out, they are hard to distinguish from the deployment of strike groupings close to the state borders of the socialist countries for practical [realnyye] combat operations. This activity is in evident conflict with the positive trends in relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact which have occurred in recent years and does not help to promote strengthening trust between countries and peoples.

### General Moiseyev Cited

*LD1209121389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—"The excessive activity of the armed forces of the member states of the North Atlantic alliance runs counter to statements by its military and political leadership concerning NATO's adherence to the cause of strengthening peace and universal security and the defensive nature of its military doctrine," Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, said in an interview with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with the start of NATO's major combined forces, airforce, and naval exercises.

In General Moiseyev's opinion, the Autumn Forge-89 exercises, which are noteworthy for the great scope of tasks being dealt with, are difficult to distinguish from the deployment of strike forces on the borders of the socialist countries for real combat action. "This kind of exercise," he stressed, "clearly contradicts the positive breakthroughs in relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact which have happened in recent years. Holding them is not promoting the strengthening of trust between countries and peoples."

To back up his words, General Moiseyev said that in the active phase of the exercises, which started on 11 September, the crews of 14 B-52 bombers deployed from mainland United States to Europe would start working through tasks concerned with dominating the combat theater. The general added that over the past few days 13 B-52 aircraft have made flights in the areas of the North-East Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and test sites in the Netherlands and the FRG. "In the past few days there have been troop movements into their designated operational areas in the Central European combat theater in accordance with the plan for the Caravan Guard-89 exercises," he stressed.

In General Moiseyev's words, these exercises are precisely enough typical of the approach of influential forces in NATO to the military aspects of East-West relations. "On one hand they are looking for any way of making the Warsaw Pact states disarm as much as possible," he said, "while on the other they are trying not only to keep NATO's mighty military potential, but to continue to build it up."

## Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 11 Sep

### Notes Yeltsin's Visit to U.S.

*LD1109183889 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today described recent remarks of U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle about the Soviet Union as "strange" and said that they "struck a discordant note against the mounting constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States."

Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing that Quayle's remarks about his unwillingness to subsidize perestroyka in the Soviet Union lacked common sense, because "we have not approached him with such a request."

"Perestroyka is the business of our people and our own responsibility," he pointed out.

The spokesman expressed his disagreement with a recent statement of U.S. trade representative Carla Hills, who said that the Soviet economic system does not make it possible to hold negotiations on the Soviet Union's joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and that the Soviet Union is not ready to assume obligations necessary for this.

Gerasimov pointed to changes under way in the Soviet economic system and expressed hope that the issue of rapprochement of the Soviet Union and GATT would "be gradually rid of ideological and political accretions in favor of constructive dialogue."

On the situation in Lebanon, the spokesman said the Arab league's Tripartite Committee on Lebanon is "the most promising mechanism for ensuring a political settlement" in that country.

Commenting on reports that the foreign ministers of the committee member states plan to meet on September 13, he pointed out that the Soviet Union "welcomes with deep satisfaction the intention of the committee participants to discuss its further activities."

The results of the 9th non-aligned summit conference which just ended in Belgrade, show the Non-aligned Movement's desire to adapt itself to new realities by establishing a broad dialogue and equal partnership with all influential forces in the world, Gerasimov said.

He noted that the political declaration, adopted by the conference, was worded in less confrontation tones, as compared with the past, with the emphasis not on confrontation with "great powers" but on constructive participation, together with the entire international community, in solving urgent problems facing mankind.

Commenting on the situation in the Soviet Transcaucasian republic of Azerbaijan, the spokesman said that oil-processing enterprises in the republic "are working at full capacity" today.

"In Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, all public transport has resumed operation. On the whole, workers have reported for work at more enterprises than on the previous days."

The spokesman also spoke about international contacts of Soviet parliamentary deputies. He said that deputies are making active use of their parliamentary vacations to "establish contacts with their colleagues in other countries and study the experience of foreign parliaments' functioning."

"A number of USSR people's deputies, including Boris Yeltsin, are now in the United States," Gerasimov said. "These are not official delegations invited by U.S. Congress, but private groups whose visits were arranged by various public and scientific organisations.

"For example, Yeltsin's visit, which has evoked much interest of reporters, was arranged by the Soviet social inventions fund."

Gerasimov said that Soviet deputies will visit several American cities and deliver lectures at some universities.

He expressed hope that there would be more of such visits in the future due to expansion of international contacts of Soviet parliamentarians.

In conclusion, answering a question on the date of convocation of the Central Committee plenum on ethnic relations, Gerasimov said that the plenum will be convened "in a few days."

### Terms Quayle Remarks 'Strange'

*LD1109135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1314 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep TASS—The recent remarks by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle about the Soviet Union were described as "strange and sounding a dissonant note in the growing constructive dialogue between the USSR and U.S." by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaking at a briefing today, he said that Quayle's remarks about his unwillingness to subsidise perestroyka in the Soviet Union lacked common sense, since "we have not made such a request to him." "Perestroyka is the business of our people and our own responsibility," Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

The Soviet diplomat described the statements of the U.S. Vice President on the situation that has arisen in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (the republics of the Soviet Baltic) as interference in the internal affairs of the USSR.

"It is hard to say what there is more of in such statements—the old way of looking at the world, or a lack of any sort of understanding of the current stage of international development," said Gennadiy Gerasimov. "Quite a lot of positive things have been achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations. And in this context we understand the recent words of U.S. president George Bush that he

wishes perestroyka success and hopes that the times of the 'cold war' will not return."

### Welcomes Arab Committee for Lebanon

*LD1109140989 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—In the opinion of the Soviet side, under the present circumstances the tripartite committee on Lebanon of the Arab League is the most promising mechanism for ensuring a political settlement in that country, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Commenting on reports that it is planned to hold meetings of foreign ministers of the committee's member states on September 13, He pointed out that the USSR "welcomes with deep satisfaction the intention of the participants in the committee to discuss its further activities". Gerasimov noted that the Soviet Union "takes vigorous actions to help resume the mission of the tripartite committee" and added that the USSR would "continue giving active support to the work of the committee and making for this purpose appropriate contacts with various parties, including Lebanese sides".

The spokesman also said that Vasily Kolotusha, Soviet ambassador in Beirut, who visited Moscow recently for consultations on the Lebanese situation, "was given additional instructions whose essence is to gradually induce the Lebanese for constructive cooperation with the committee and for starting a dialogue between all Lebanese parties and a search for common goals in the interests of achieving national concord".

### Notes Nonaligned Summit Results

*LD1109154189 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—The results of the 9th non-aligned conference of the heads of state and government, which just ended in Belgrade, show a desire of the Non-aligned Movement to adapt itself to new realities by establishing a dialogue and equal partnership with all influential forces in the world, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He noted that the political declaration adopted by the forum is worded in less confrontational tones (in contrast to the past) with an edge not on confrontation with "great powers" but on their own constructive participation, along with the international community, in settling urgent problems facing humanity.

Gerasimov pointed to the importance of the conference's decision in favour of a broader participation of non-aligned countries in cutting conventional weapons and dismantling foreign military bases on other territories. He also called attention to new elements in the conference's decisions: removal of the ecological threat, protection of human rights, strengthening of international law and order and struggle against terrorism and narcotics trafficking. They show understanding by the non-aligned countries of the world-wide character of these problems and the need for the international community to pool efforts in their solution, noted Gerasimov.

### Announces End to Azerbaijani Strikes

*LD1109140389 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Azerbaijan's oil-processing enterprises are working at full capacity today. In Baku, the capital of this Soviet "Transcaucasian republic, all public transport has resumed operation," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman announced here today.

"On the whole, workers have reported for work at more enterprises than on the previous days," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's information directorate.

All oil-producing and processing enterprises operated on September 8 but, due a strike by railway and water transport workers, they had to fill standby reservoirs with their products.

On September 9-10, oil processing proceeded below capacity for the same reason.

In this connection, the ministry spokesman drew attention to a reportage shown by Soviet relevision last Friday, September 8, claiming that oil-refineries in Baku stopped operation, and pointed to inadmissibility of inaccuracies in media coverage of developments in the republic.

### Denies Afghan City Taken by Rebels

*LD1109135989 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today dismissed as "another invention" assertions by the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America that Afghan "mujahideen" had seized the western Afghan city of Shindand.

The two radio services reported that the offensive on Shindand, mounted by five parties of the "Peshawar alliance", had overrun 15 government outposts by last Thursday and that the city had fallen to the opposition last Friday.

The reports even alleged that the fall of Shindand was indicative of the weakening of central authorities in the west of Afghanistan.

"In fact, the city remains under the Kabul government's control and it has not even come under any serious threat," Gerasimov said at a briefing here.

"The rebels did attempt to attack government forces in the area of Charmahal [name as received], but came under an air and artillery counter-blow and lost dozens of men and large amounts of arms," he added.

### Affirms USSR Ready To Join GATT

*LD1109142289 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—The Soviet Union cannot agree with a recent statement of U.S. trade representative Carla Hills, who said that the Soviet economic system does not make it possible to hold negotiations on the Soviet Union's joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and that the Soviet Union is not ready to assume obligations necessary for this, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a news briefing today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that three years ago the Soviet Union had submitted an official application for participation in the Uruguayan round of multilateral trade negotiations within the GATT framework.

"The Soviet economic mechanism has since seen certain changes," he said. "The government is creating a regulated socialist market in the country, granting full economic independence to individual enterprises and production amalgamations, developing wholesale trade, and taking measures toward the ruble's convertibility in the future."

Besides, he added, Soviet foreign economic relations are being reformed, too.

Gerasimov said that an inter-departmental commission had been set up in the country as part of measures to ensure the Soviet Union's rapprochement with GATT. The commission sees to it that Soviet foreign economic rules and practices strictly comply with GATT standards and principles.

"The Soviet economic system, in conditions of its fundamental restructuring, is approaching GATT criteria," the spokesman said.

He expressed hope that the issue of rapprochement of the Soviet Union and GATT would "be gradually rid of ideological and political accretions in favour of constructive dialogue."

### International Culture Meeting Opens in Leningrad

*LD1209005389 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Leningrad September 11 TASS—An international meeting, "Cultural Cooperation on the Threshold of the 21st Century, the Role of Culture Foundations", which opened in Leningrad today on the initiative of the Soviet Culture Fund and the European Cultural Foundation, is devoted to the development of East-West humanitarian dialogue.

The meeting is attended by representatives of about 30 culture foundations, mainly from Western Europe, and also the United States, Israel, a number of European socialist countries.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in his message, wished success to the participants in the meeting. "The favourable influence of culture on the development of the personality, humanisation of international relations, mankind's awareness of its unity and inter-connection is now great as never before," he noted.

Dr. Robert Picht, chairman of the German Committee for Cultural Cooperation in Europe (FRG), opened the meeting which is to discuss questions of international activities in the sphere of culture and outline joint projects in preservation of cultural legacy.

The presentation of the Soviet Culture Fund was held at the meeting. In less than three years the Soviet culture foundation brought together huge numbers of people and gave an impetus to the charity activities in the country.

"Though the meeting is not planned to pass any joint documents, we attach a great significance to it, Academician Dmitriy Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund's board, told TASS.

"We want to get to know closer foreign colleagues with whom we hope to develop business partnership. In our desire to cooperate we are motivated by the common conviction that culture of any people, of any country belongs to the whole mankind and the destiny of any national monument concerns all peoples", he said.

The program of the meeting includes discussions and a sightseeing tour of Leningrad.

### Supreme Soviet's Primakov Addresses IPU Session

*LD0809181189 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] London September 8 TASS—"In recent years, a considerable headway has been made permitting to state that the tendency of normalizing the international climate is becoming stable," head of the Soviet delegation Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in his address to the 82nd conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in London.

"But we can by no means rest content with what has been achieved. The new philosophy of international relations, ruling out the use of force or threat of force, has not yet triumphed everywhere.

"The tendency of the military-industrial sector to try and make up for losses it sustained from arms reduction by introducing ever new methods of conducting warfare is acquiring threatening proportions. The flames of international regional conflicts have not yet been extinguished. The impending ecological threat has not been

averted. Indeed, many people have not yet become fully aware of it," Primakov said.

The leader of the Soviet delegation stressed that "it is hard to overestimate the role that parliaments of different countries are called upon to play in the search for solutions to these and other vital issues".

Among the tasks the parliamentarians are facing, Primakov singled out above all the need "to vigorously support the efforts aimed at reducing armaments."

"The elimination of the medium-range and shorter-range missiles," he pointed out, "provided a powerful impulse that began to give up on the threshold of the 50 percent cut in soviet and U.S. strategic forces. That, perhaps, is no cause for serious anxiety as the Soviet-U.S. negotiation is going on and many points have been agreed upon. Nevertheless, lengthy breaks in the continuous process of arms cuts betoken a loss of pace".

In this connection, Primakov noted, an additional impulse to cuts in strategic armaments might be provided by an appeal of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to all nuclear powers to put an end to nuclear tests.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet has addressed its proposals on the matter to the U.S. Congress," he said. "We would like to express hope that the initiative of Soviet parliamentarians will meet with support and understanding of the present audience".

Among the high priority steps toward ensuring international security, the speaker pointed out such as the ban on, and the elimination of chemical weapons and an expeditious conclusion of an appropriate convention for the purpose. He drew the attention of the audience to the recent appeal of the Soviet parliamentarian group to parliamentarians across the world to consider concrete Soviet proposals concerning forms of inter-parliamentary interaction in averting the threat of a chemical war.

Having expressed concern over the persistance of hotbeds of regional tensions across the world, the Soviet representative stressed: "Historical experience has shown that they can only be extinguished on the basis of compromise and a search for a balance of contending parties' interests in conditions of non-intervention from outside and active and well-intentioned involvement of the world community, represented above all by the United Nations and Inter-parliamentary mechanisms.

"We believe that this approach may be applied to various regional tension hot-spots", Primakov stated.

"We in the Soviet parliament are confident that the present restructuring of international relations is inseparably linked with positive changes in the Soviet Union and some other countries," the Soviet representative said.

"Our new political thinking finds expression in identical standards for domestic and foreign policy: freedom of choice for nations, respect for the dignity of the individual and priority status of common human interests."

"Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his message to our organization that 'the Soviet Government favours the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in pooling the efforts of parliamentarians of all countries, irrespective of their ideological convictions and political orientations, in the interests of confidence building and comprehensive cooperation in the world for the sake of mankind's survival and progress'," Primakov said in conclusion.

"Of course, there is a long way ahead leading to the solution of all urgent tasks the world community faces. But it can be stated that light has appeared at the end of the tunnel. Much now depends on our activity, readiness to move on along the path toward the common goal and step up concerted efforts."

### Returns to Moscow

*LD1009195189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sept. TASS—Today a delegation from the USSR Parliamentary Group which has been participating in the work of the 82d conference of the Interparliamentary Union, returned to Moscow from London. It was led by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

### Bessmertnykh Receives French, U.S. Charges

*PM1209093189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 89 Moscow Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 26 August USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh received F. Beauchataud, French charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR. Questions connected with the concluding stage of the Paris conference on Cambodia were discussed during the talks.

On the same day A.A. Bessmertnykh received J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, at the latter's request. Regional questions were mainly touched on during the talks.

### 'Observers Roundtable' Views Current Events

*LD1009202189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 10 Sep 89*

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. This week there have been many international events in the world.

In the first place I think one can mention the ninth conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries, but it seems to me that it is expedient to start with an event that at first sight is internal. We are talking about the forming of a government in Poland. But this event is indisputably not just internal. It also has international significance and is attracting universal attention. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, prime minister of the Polish government, is intending to put forward his cabinet of ministers for confirmation by the Polish parliament on 12 September and to make a keynote speech. But now already it is clear how the ministerial portfolios have been distributed, and in the first place we are all interested of course in what the Polish United Workers Party received.

[Bovin] Somehow I have not kept up here. Who has become their minister of foreign affairs?

[Levin] A catholic official has been proposed as minister of foreign affairs. The post of first deputy minister of foreign affairs stays with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

[Bovin] I think Kiszczak is due to be minister of internal affairs, that was what was being said, and deputy premier too.

[Levin] Deputy premier too.

[Bovin] I think the PZPR still want defense.

[Levin] Siwicki is the minister of national defense and the communists are also getting the posts of the minister of foreign trade and of transport. Solidarity is reserving for itself 10 posts: These are those of the deputy premier, the minister of finance, the minister of industry, the minister of building, the minister of labor. Incidentally they are appointing Jacek Kuron to this post.

[Bovin] How will he deal with the strikes?

[Levin] Yes, let's be frank, he has a hot seat, especially if one takes into account that the social tension in Poland is enormous. I recently read that inflation has reached a level of 236 percent. So there is something to occupy himself with. Witold Trzeciakowski is destined for the post of new chairman of the Economic Council and of minister without portfolio. He is an economics professor from Solidarity. Altogether on the whole the picture is emerging clearly enough. It seems to me that...

[Bovin interrupting] The main way in which this picture is different, Nikolay Vladimirovich in my opinion is that for the first time in the history of world socialism the communist party has been deprived of the leading role in the state. This is the principle aspect of the forming of this government. This is the first time, the first experiment, and what will happen as a result of this, this is the most important question now, to which I at least for the time being, have no answer to be honest. Walesa's answer, if one translates it into very simplified language—well, he says, we will move away from socialism toward captialism. He even puts the question in that manner. Here of course a mass of interesting, theoretical, political and all sort of other things arise. But above all of course we will be looking at actual policy. We will separate off what the Poles will be doing internally—this is also very interesting, but nevertheless it is a Polish matter, but the foreign policy of Poland is not only interesting but it is also our affair, that is Soviet-Polish relations, the role of Poland in Europe and the world, let's say, but here we will look only at actions. In statements one can say what one likes. Their specific attitudes to the Warsaw Pact, their attitudes to Soviet-Polish agreements, and so on and so forth. So we will be looking at these, evaluating the situation on the basis of the real steps taken, not creating here for ourselves any metaphysical or ideological obstructions or such like, or on the contrary, I don't know what.

[Shishlin] All in all it should be noted, so far as the statements of the same Lech Walesa are concerned, that they have recently been of a more balanced nature and this is understandable.

[Bovin] I would single out the essence, as it were, and not the way he formulates what he says.

[Shishlin] Yes, I understand that. At any rate outwardly, as it were, Poland—or the Polish cabinet as it is being formed at the moment—will not of course, have as many ministers as the Soviet Union. Proportionate to...

[Bovin interrupting] Proportionate to the population it should not. There are fewer people...

[Shishlin interrupting] Yes, yes, but in terms of problems of course, although quite simply we experience many acute, severe problems; Poland, unfortunately, has no less experience of them. Here, on the one hand the process of forming this genuinely new cabinet is proceeding with the new arrangement of forces on the Polish political scene, and on the other hand this new cabinet is coming up against the same problems which Poland has been experiencing already throughout at least the last 10 years.

[Bovin] So a new cabinet means new methods and a new policy. It will be interesting to see these new methods and this new policy, the transfer to a market system of economics, let's put it like that, let's express it in a civilized manner. We won't use all sorts of...[changes thought] cabinets have tried to do this before. It did not succeed. What will they do now so that it does succeed? Do we then suppose they are at people's throats for credits! I won't say that the Poles are on their knees begging, but all in all, putting absolutely enormous pressure on the West, they are saying, give us these thousands of of millions, otherwise...[pauses] in sum they are exerting enormous pressure.

[Levin] You know Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, while we are talking about the FRG, recently Walesa visited the Federal Republic of Germany.

[Bovin] These are the sort of conversations that were conducted there.

[Levin] He said there: We do not need money, we need investment.

[Bovin] No, of course; they need that capital investment. They need material resources, work and machine tools in order to build there.

[Levin] In order to pay not with the money which they will again get on loan, but with produce.

[Bovin] That is clear, that is clear.

[Shishlin] In any case, we can state with absolute certainty that the current Polish leaders. I mean in particular the politicians from the bosom of solidarity, are to a significant degree nevertheless linking their hopes to certain support from the West. They are counting on receiving weighty tangible support from the West, and it is evident that some sort of support will be given. It is difficult for the moment to talk about any scale, but whatever happens in Paris they will probably find it possible to postpone the payment of the Polish debt in some way, all the more so since Poland simply cannot repay this debt.

[Bovin] After all, no one has an interest in there being a collapse of the economy—and neither do we incidentally have an interest in this.

[Shishlin] On the other hand, of course, both the new Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, other Polish politicians, and Polish political forces clearly recognize, in my opinion, that the solution of Polish problems largely depends on the Poles, on Poland itself. But it is necessary to start in very difficult conditions, because even after Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed prime minister of Poland and the forming of the cabinet had started, the economic situation in Poland continues to worsen day by day, day by day. The attempt, for example, to raise the prices of goods that are in most demand, of essential goods that are urgently needed, has not led to a situation where these goods have appeared on the counters or on the shelves of Polish shops.

[Bovin] I sometimes think that Solidarity is seriously guilty of something here; if, let's say, they had not adopted such a negative position to all the attempts by the government in the 1980s to reform the economy and to do something major. All the time it hindered even this. It did not support this economic policy. All these problems have intensified over the past 10 years because of this.

[Shishlin] For this reason in fact, the problem consists of how to ensure the unity of Polish society, of how to ensure joint harmonious work. If this joint harmonious work does not come about then, of course, the Polish difficulties, failures, and, crises may drag on.

[Levin] Political life in Poland is now dominated by the term realism. This has made itself felt in the forming of the government; it has made itself felt—well, you, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, mentioned the question of relations with the Warsaw pact, and Mazewiecki has said that we stress our will to fulfill our duties under the Warsaw Treaty.

[Bovin] I think that Polish and Soviet writers will happily play with the adjective socialist and the noun realism; and they will call the situation in Poland either realistic socialism or socialist realism!

[Levin] I would like to give our listeners an answer to another question which, as we know is often raised. It concerns the interview which Tadeusz Mazowiecki gave to TIME magazine. He was asked—this is the question TIME pointedly asked: What is your opinion—is communism in Poland finished? Mazowiecki smiled and then thought for a long time. His words: The transformations now taking place would be impossible without the support of the communists. They must be given their due for being the initiators of last year's roundtable talks. Those reform-orientated members of the party paid dearly for this in the June parliamentary elections; thus it happens that sometimes in politics and in history those who are not guilty have to pay.

Last week I announced to President Wojciech Jaruzelski that the success of my government would depend on his help. I do not think that communism will disappear but I believe that it will undergo a transformation.

[Bovin] If the cat Leopold was here he would say, friends, let's live amicably.

[Levin] Yes, probably the idea of let's live amicably was also heard at the ninth conference of the heads of state and governments of the non-aligned countries, since this movement began with 25 and now there are 102.

[Bovin] A rather strange picture is already arising. When the world is precisely divided into two poles and let's say there is East-West confrontation, then, it is clear, you do not align youself with either side. But in the situation when these two poles begin to, say, come closer together, when new poles of power and strength appear, when there is not such a polarity in general international life, then the very concept of being nonaligned begins to dissolve a little. Thus at least when you look at this matter—well, I only mention it.

[Levin] Such a thought was heard at the conference itself. It alarms many participants of this movement.

[Bovin] The point is lost somewhat in being nonaligned.

[Shishlin] There are two other circumstances, first of all, the fact that now anyway the concept of a mutually-dependent, to some extent integral world is beginning to gain a foothold and win minds. Now man in world society really has many common...

[Bovin, interrupting] Well yes, but how can you avoid aligning yourself, this is the crux of the question.

[Levin] Many people at this conference thought about this, but as far as I understood it, far from all. There, if I am not mistaken, 40 or 42 resolutions were approved. At first it was supposed that 20 documents would be enough, so that there would not be—well, when there are are very many documents it generally reduces their political value. But is it possible to—I would ask this question—is it possible to say that this ninth conference opened a genuinely new stage in the development of the Nonaligned Movement?

[Bovin] Well, I do not know. I would not put it like that. But I, for example, was at the last conference in Harare, and comparing those documents and these, well, they differ in one way, of course. There, in Harare, they criticized U.S. imperialism much more severely.

[Levin] That was 3 years ago.

[Bovin] Yes, yes, and in those documents, in these documents, this line of criticizing U.S. imperialism is much less graphically expressed, but it is understandable why, because there really is a kind of wave of reducing the level of confrontation and antagonism. Well to call this a new stage is, in my opinion, somewhat premature. In my opinion it is necessary to wait and see how it will all turn out, all the more so because when you leaf through the papers of the Nonaligned Movement, many good words have been said over many years, but unfortunately very few of these words have become reality. But I must say that in Belgrade there were many pointed scenes of various kinds, well the speeches of, let's say, the Iran and Iraq delegates and the, well, quite acute dispute between them, and the appearance of, let's say, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi will long be remembered by the delegates. I heard his speech in Harare, he was on the tribune, and behind him stood several bodyguards, but girls, women. They were all in that camouflaged military uniform and had weapons. He spoke and they kind of danced about a little, and when he paused, they shouted, for example, "Down with America." And so he also in Belgrade went onto the stage, again with bodyguards, though I did not understand from the text of the paper [as heard] whether they were men or women.

[Shishlin] Women.

[Bovin] There you are then—again women. Once again they accompanied him a little. He spoke with spirit, without reading, and it was interesting. I will read one excerpt from his speech—of course for him, as an Arab, the Middle East conflict is a theme close to his heart and this is what he said: All Jews living in Israel must leave there in the very near future, otherwise inevitable destruction threatens them. They must move to Alsace and Lorraine since these lands belong to no one and around them several wars have been fought. Al-Qadhdhafi underlined that Palestine is not, as the Jews claim, their Promised Land. It is the land of their death, he exclaimed, saying that his new proposal for the solution of the Jewish question is intended to defend the citizens of Israel. He even said that if they are not allowed to settle in Alsace-Lorraine, then he proposed emigration to other regions in Europe, saying this he mentioned the territory of the Soviet Baltic states and the Caucasus, from where, he said, many Jews emigrated to Israel. Such was the way the question was put. By the way in the same speech he proposed to repeal the right of veto of the five great powers in the Security Council since, in general it is unfair and so on. Another little point....

[Levin, interrupting] There was one other point in that speech. On the question of foreign indebtedness, al-Qadhdhafi said: Anyone who cannot repay the debt should not get into debt. It is hard not to agree with this.

[Bovin] That's correct, of course. You can say that sort of thing when you have oil!

[Shishlin] Be that as it may, of course, apart from such telling details there really were many very serious proposals and ideas put forward at the conference.

[Bovin] Naturally.

[Shishlin] Generally speaking, some of the ideas do work. At any rate, I understand that, for instance, it is no easy matter to implement the Nonaligned Movement's important idea of establishing a new international economic order. That has been on the go for many years now...

[Bovin interrupting] How long has it been on the go?

[Shishlin] Oh, many years. But at any rate, nobody can distance themselves from the need to tackle the problems that the Third World is coming up against. The problem of debt. Do you really think it doesn't affect the Soviet Union, too, to some extent? Of course it affects us! In fact, it affects all members of the world community, because the difficult and lamentable condition in which many of the developing states have found themselves is Mankind's common concern and common pain. Or take, let's suppose, the ecological problems which have just been discussed in Belgrade. You can say what you like about the impoverishment of Africa, about the forests being chopped down in South America, but in fact what is at issue is the scale of the changes in the natural environment—a scale that quite simply threatens disaster and that affects not just the countries in the zone south of the Sahara, but the world and Mankind at large.

[Bovin] But it is sometimes very difficult indeed to talk to them on this subject! Take Brazil: That's all very well, they say. You've already achieved progress in your economy, but we haven't. Now here you are stopping us. Smoke is a sign of progress! That's how they pose the question. How come you've all done this but now you're telling us to take care of our forest! But we want to develop our industry, we want this and that—this is a type of neocolonialism, they say, an attempt to forbid us to use our natural resources for our own ends. One can and must argue against this, but there you are, that's the way it is.

[Shishlin] I believe there is a certain logic in this stance...

[Bovin interrupting] Yes, yes, yes.

[Shishlin] Particularly since, let's say, if we are to speak solely of us...

[Bovin interrupting] The replete do not understand the hungry!

[Shishlin continuing] Then, in fact we too, have made quite free with—not to say preyed upon—our own resources, regardless of the state of the country or what effect this might have on the environment.

[Bovin] Everyone has to bump his own head. Unfortunately, nobody learns from the mistakes of others. That's the thing.

[Levin] But just the same, the proposal put forward by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to set up an international ecological fund—well, I think that's an interesting idea. Judging by the figures, it would not, I would say, impose any great burdens. As Rajiv Gandhi visualizes it, the annual budget of the fund would be $18 billion. It would be made up from the contributions of all countries in the world community, and the contributions would amount to 0.1 percent of their Gross National Product.

[Shishlin] In this instance, Rajiv Gandhi's idea is to pool the resources to try and somehow tackle jointly the most pressing problems. That is a very sensible idea. A very sensible idea...

[Bovin interrupting] Thank God somebody's (?put it forward)

[Shishlin] But one way or another, I believe Aleksandr Yevgenyevich is absolutely right not to be in any hurry to accept the suggestion of declaring the work of the ninth conference a new stage in the history of the Nonaligned Movement. I believe that what we started with—when we said that in this changing world the Nonaligned Movement is starting to look a little different—that is of some import. That which, in fact, was voiced in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's greetings telegram to the ninth conference- - that we really are prepared to engage in intensive dialogue and establish cooperation both with the Nonaligned Movement as a whole, and with each of its participants—that, too is of material importance. Of course we could add—with every member of the world community. Because the problems that confront us all today are problems that must indeed be of common concern to all countries and all states.

[Levin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, you mentioned our readiness to engage in dialogue with every member of the Nonaligned Movement, but 25 years went by without any summit meeting between representatives of the Soviet Union and Indonesia. Now Suharto has visited us, and on the eve of his visit KOMPAS—an important Jakarta newspaper—wrote that Suharto's trip to Moscow provided a good opportunity to win the Soviet Union's support, which Indonesia needs to boost its prestige and role in the Nonaligned Movement, and also to gain the understanding of the group of nonaligned states that maintain close relations with the USSR. But we, too, undoubtedly have an interest in developing relations with Indonesia.

[Bovin] Of course we have. But there is a very dramatic history to these relations. For, if you recall we had excellent relations with Indonesia and with...

[Levin interrupting] And even better relations with the army, I should say.

[Bovin] Yes, really very good relations. Also with the then Indonesian President Sukarno. Incidentally, he was one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement. One of the founders of that anti-imperialist, so to speak, Third World. Everything was fine between us, but then there was the putsch of 30 September 1965, when left-wing Indonesians attempted to unseat the top brass and establish a different regime. The putsch failed, and called forth a terribly harsh backlash from those people who held onto power. The communists were wiped out—slaughtered, hanged, executed. I don't know - 200 at the very least. That bloody orgy lasted several years. Of course this was a great burden on our relations with Indonesia. Formal relations were maintained all that time, but this affair lingered on for a long time. Then little by little—well, time really is the best healer. Gradually everything got back on an even keel, and now—I would use the expression 'a new stage'. It really is a new stage when the current president of Indonesia—who has ruled the country since those times—comes visiting us. I would say it is a great power of the 21st century. It holds fifth place in terms of population size...

[Levin interrupting] Some 180 million people.

[Bovin] It has natural resources, and its geographical position. Many islands... it has quite an advantageous strategic position. So, it is a great power of the 21st century. It has oil, and using that oil they have managed to draw level.

[Shishlin] In recent years in Indonesia noticeable economic success has been achieved. Here you have mentioned about oil and about oil resources. You could add to this rubber and so on. But, incidentally for a long time now Indonesia is orientating itself toward finished articles, and, moreover, quite technically complex ones. So this is already a quite substantial, quite noticeable change.

[Levin] That's a dig at us!

[Shishlin] On the whole, this visit naturally has several dimensions. One dimension is Soviet-Indonesian relations, which will indubitably be enriched as a result of these negotiatons and these talks. But another dimension is connected to the region of Asia and the Pacific Ocean as a whole, which indeed today already plays an appreciable role in the formation of the international political

climate, and this region will undoubtedly play a salient part in the subsequent period if one bears in mind its rapid economic development and those cultural riches which are amassed there and which have not yet really been included in the overall potential, and if one bears in mind simply the political role of those states which are situated in this zone. I mean India, China, Japan, and Indonesia as well, and the countries of Indochina and the Young Tigers, and of course the United States, and of course the Soviet Union.

[Levin] Here we are entering in to a phase of very energetic foreign policy activity, and Suharto's visit is already a fact, while in the near future, as was announced this week, we have what will very probably be a very interesting meeting will take place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, who, on 23 September, homeward-bound from Japan, will make a stopover for a working visit in Moscow. The upcoming meetings—2 days, the 22d and 23d of September, have been set aside for them—between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, our minister for foreign affairs, and Baker, the United States of America secretary of state.

Well, of course, they will talk both about international problems—there will be their common problems—but there is a certain hope that, for example, during the visit, during Shevardnadze's talks with Baker the question of a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting will also be discussed. In any case, this is also a very important stage.

[Bovin] Yes, in general, Soviet-U.S. relations have of course, well, not exactly got stuck, but, nevertheless, somehow, in my view, not been developing as actively recently as they should have been. But now here is a new round of negotiations on conventional weapons which has begun. Here, I think is already evident some kind of real movement. Bush himself here burnt his bridges to some degree by saying that they should be finished in 6 months or at most 1 year. He is now making new proposals both on inspection and other things. Evidently there the machine has started working more quickly.

But there is a whole range of other problems. Here again everything will be held up by strategic negotiations. The problem of SDI, incidentally, has not been removed and it is hanging somewhere as a potential burden and it is a very important question whether or not we will manage to remove this rock from the path of strategic disarmament. Clearly, the foreign minister will have to talk about this to our American...[changes thought] well, examine this whole disarmament complex because this is not expected of Margaret Thatcher and us, but this is exactly what is expected from Bush and us. We must...[changes thought] this is our Soviet- U.S. business—disarmament, above all.

Chemical weapons—let's...[changes thought] Bush is ready here for some broad gestures. I am not sure whether we are yet ready for them but, in general there is the possibility to negotiate on the problem of arms sales. This must be advanced somewhere because, well, we are, sort of, all for peace, yet are turning out weapons. I have already said once that the five UN Security Council Permanent Members are the five major arms merchants.

[Shishlin] These are the five major powers! [chuckles]

[Bovin] So, of course there is something for Shevardnadze and Baker to talk about, without question. This is the whole complex of problems and, of course, there is the summit to be prepared not haphazardly, but so that it nevertheless finishes with something. I think they will arrange it, judging by everything, for the beginning of 1990, probably, well, let's say for the first half of 1990.

[Shishlin] I, in any case, think that—although I admit that it is quite a widespread point of view that, supposedly the Soviet- U.S. pauses are quite sluggish—for some reason I do not agree with this. Why? Because, actually, listening to you now I disagree all the more. For instance, when did the shift in the United States position at the Vienna negotiations take place? It took place back in May, in essence.

[Bovin] A little later. Officially in May they...[changes thought] a little later.

[Shishlin] Yes. Yes. Yes. That is, now, when Vienna has already been launched—the Vienna negotiations on conventional weapons in Europe—that is, in general it turned out that the launch occurred when the positions of NATO and the Warsaw Pact were closer than at any other time. Although there is a still mass of difficult problems and so on there, all this is correct. Now, at present quite a lot is being talked in the U.S. press about the fact that the United States have already worked up their position at the negotiations on strategic offensive weapons and are ready to proceed in some way from the, well, platform, perhaps, which has not led to a compromise.

[Bovin] Well, there are problems with mobile missiles and long-range sea-launched cruise ones. But what I say is—perhaps taking account of the desire to move things on a little faster, that's where the comparison should lie.

[Shishlin] Naturally. Naturally. But, of course, one this is without doubt. Both those negotiations which have taken place and those negotiations which are planned—both with Margaret Thatcher and the Shevardnadze-Baker negotiations—mean that fall 1989 will be crowned with new activity in international affairs, activity aimed at slightly reducing the number of problems in the world and slightly increasing the scope for constructive, creative actions.

[Levin] On this note our program, esteemed comrades, is closing. All the best to you.

## United States & Canada

### Bush Remarks on USSR Termed 'Confusing'

*PM1109170389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 First Edition p 5*

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "A Task 'For All Times'"]

[Text] Washington, 11 Sep—If anyone had any misgivings about U.S. President G. Bush's stances on Soviet-American relations, he was absolutely right. It is extremely difficult to form a picture from the president's utterances in recent days as to what motivates the White House incumbent, what views he professes, and what aims he pursues.

From one speech to the next Bush has, with uncommon ease, been changing the very philosophy of his statements, intimidating Americans with the "Soviet threat" one moment and praising the Soviet perestroyka and glasnost the next.

While addressing the Congress of the American Legion in Baltimore last Thursday, for instance, Bush paid much attention to the task of "ridding America of the fear of war." This, in his words, is Washington's "global mission" which dictates the need "to be strong in military terms." We, the president declared, cannot force the Soviet Union to reduce its arms by unilaterally disarming ourselves. In the sphere of the reduction of strategic weapon systems, Soviet words are allegedly not backed up by actions, according to Bush. "Our strategic modernization program," he declared, "must take into account the actual situation and encourage the Soviet Union to engage in cooperation with us in the cause of reducing the threat of nuclear war."

Let's leave the remark about the need to "encourage" the USSR to the U.S. President's conscience, but it is, nonetheless, more necessary to encourage Washington than Moscow. Especially, if you compare the sides' positions at the talks in Geneva and Vienna. However, something else is of interest—how does Bush propose to rid America of the fear of war? By the selfsame method which is as old as the world. By building missile-carrying submarines, strategic ICBMs, and fighter-bombers. And, of course, by implementing the "star wars" program.

However, in an interview with the British journalist D. Frost the U.S. President stated that he hopes that "cold war" will never return. "We," he said, "want glasnost to remain. I have been telling Mikhail Gorbachev this all the time." The president said a great many good words about our reforms, about the new openness, about sincere attempts to cope with our problems of which so many have accumulated....

The president's ambivalent speeches may be confusing, but there is an explanation for this. It appears from trends which have emerged recently that the administration is still completely disorientated in the sense that it does not know what kind of relations the White House would like to establish with the Soviet Union. People here are still guessing whether glasnost will survive, whether perestroyka will be successful, whether it is worth doing "serious business" with the USSR. According to remarks published in THE NEW YORK TIMES, "officials admit that there is no far-reaching strategy for the administration to follow and that the President's declared theme of going beyond the policy of containment in respect of the Soviet Union and switching to a policy of including it in the 'community of nations' is very useful as a publicity objective but no good as a guideline for action."

It only remains to be said that the absence of an accurately thought-out and, to be precise, long-term strategy in the mutual relations between the two great powers is short-sighted. No matter how complex our problems are, the cause of preserving and strengthening peace is a task "for all times."

### Shevardnadze Interviewed on USSR-U.S. Ties

*PM1109161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "On the Eve of the Wyoming Meeting: E.A. Shevardnadze on Soviet-American Relations"—date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to answer a number of questions connected with the forthcoming meeting of the USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments.

[Correspondent] It has been announced that the next round of your talks with the U.S. secretary of state will take place 22-23 September. How would you describe the state of Soviet-American relations?

[Shevardnadze] Unequivocal assessments are hardly possible in affairs between states, especially such states as the USSR and the United States. Their contacts are too complex and multifaceted. They are subject to the influence of diverse and often contradictory factors.

I will try, however, to highlight what I see as most important in our relations with the United States. This is the trend that has its origins in April 1985. That is the source of the more realistic perception of each other's interests, the rejection of the gamble on military superiority, the recognition of the impermissibility of war, and the understanding of the importance of intensive dialogue and the transition from confrontation to cooperation. In the time that has elapsed since then, both sides have become convinced that a move to the positions of the new political thinking is possible and necessary.

I would add to this the common understanding of the need to act in a spirit of constructive continuity and to

continue and step up joint efforts to widen the zones of consensus and mutual understanding.

Contacts at the highest level are a key factor. M.S. Gorbachev has met with G. Bush several times, most recently in New York last December. After the U.S. President took office, the two heads of state talked on the telephone. They are in correspondence with one another.

As you know, we and the present administration do not differ on the point that it is necessary to preserve continuity in mutual relations.

It would be unreasonable not to make use of the established practice of meetings and contacts at the highest level, broad political dialogue, talks between ministers, and other exchanges.

Experience shows that considerable significance is also attached to what you could call personal compatibility. G. Shultz and I developed a relationship that can be described without exaggeration as unique, and that helped us a good deal.

This will be my fourth meeting with Mr J. Baker. I think we have begun well. There is a feeling of understanding each other, of mutual respect and trust. And there is the confidence that we will be able to work in a good atmosphere, which will make it possible to discuss and resolve the most difficult questions.

Soviet-American relations naturally cannot but feel the effects of the processes taking place in our country, and also throughout the world. Perestroyka in the Soviet Union has today entered a decisive stage, when the foundations are being laid for our country's new future, and at the same time the foundations of our new approaches to the world around us.

We have already made the breakthrough from confrontation to dialogue. Now it is necessary to take the next step—to constructive collaboration, through which it would be possible to reach a higher degree of stability, security, and confidence.

President G. Bush speaks of a "new proximity" between our states. Perhaps that is also a good definition of what we should orient ourselves toward.

We see this prospect as very beneficial to us, and we say so frankly. It would enable us to progress more boldly and rapidly in the current renewal of all spheres of our life. But would this not also be in the interests of the United States? Joint or parallel, coordinated actions by powers like ours cannot but be mutually useful. They are also advantageous to the rest of the entire world.

If you measure what has been achieved by the yardstick of the objective needs of our peoples and all mankind, then the inadequacy of what has been done becomes obvious and the unexploited opportunities and the restraint and timidity in moving forward even where no obstacles exist are striking.

Evidently the two sides must now think about how to exploit the ground that has been won from enmity and distrust. On this ground a fine crop of good things could be grown.

Indeed, that is what we will be discussing with the U.S. President and secretary of state. We expect both sides to put forward concrete new ideas on this score.

[Correspondent] The American says it favors perestroyka in the USSR. Does this affect U.S. policy in practice?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, the President and the secretary of state have both spoken repeatedly of their support for perestroyka. We welcome and value this support.

We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the American side's statements on its positive attitude to perestroyka in the USSR. Any other position would be contrary to common sense. After all, perestroyka represents no danger to other states. On the contrary, the breakdown of perestroyka could have unpredictable consequences. Furthermore it contains unique historical opportunities for the creation of a new atmosphere in international affairs and for cooperation among all countries on the basis of the principles of the new political thinking, not burdened by obsolete stereotypes, but based on the generally accepted norms of morality and common human values.

At the same time, it cannot be said that the U.S. Administration's statements are being translated into real actions. Unfortunately, Washington does not yet show readiness to proceed at the pace at which it would be possible for us to go.

To welcome perestroyka means first and foremost to utilize the opportunities it opens up, to get on with the job, a mutually advantageous job that meets the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States.

Anyone who thinks that perestroyka needs some kind of charitable assistance is wrong. No, no philanthropy is needed.

What is needed is results—in security matters, in humanitarian cooperation, in regional affairs, in trade, in scientific and technical ties.

There could be very impressive and far-reaching results. A completely new level of relations could be reached.

I think that both the United States, and the USSR, and the entire world community are losing much because of the American administration's restrained, irresolute stance.

Clearly there are forces in the United States, and forces with considerable potential and influence at that, which would prefer to put the brakes on our perestroyka, expecting this to strengthen American positions in the world.

There are also those who feel tempted to interfere in the course of the processes taking place in our country, and who even count on the restoration of capitalism in our country and the undermining of the Soviet federation. The futility of such hopes does not make actions in this direction and the gamble on destabilization any less dangerous.

In the light of all this, we have something to talk about in Washington and Wyoming in terms of clarifying each other's intentions.

In general I would like to hope that the level of maturity of the main participants in international contacts, including the United States, predetermines a serious, responsible attitude to the processes taking place in our country.

[Correspondent] You spoke of unexploited opportunities in the development of Soviet-American relations. What areas does this mainly concern?

[Shevardnadze] I would say, the sphere of arms limitation and reduction. After the recent turbulent years, a kind of lull has set in here. We are not satisfied with the rate of progress toward new accords, at any rate in the key avenue of real nuclear disarmament, launched by the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles. I have in mind first and foremost the talks on nuclear and space arms, where there is virtually no progress. In some respects we are even further away from an agreement today than we were with the former American administration.

The talks on nuclear tests have also basically been "frozen," although fulfilling the task set for the delegations—to prepare protocols on verification for the "threshold" treaties of 1974 and 1976—does not appear too difficult given the political will, especially since one of these protocols is practically ready.

Perhaps the only place where a really good start has been made—and we welcome this—is the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Encouraging prospects are also now beginning to emerge on chemical weapons.

What is happening here? After a rather prolonged interval taken by the new administration to carry out a "strategic survey," the talks resumed, after all, on the foundations created by last fall, which were quite good.

But foundations are only laid in order to build on them—in this case an edifice of accords on radical arms reduction—and not in order to walk around the foundations with no apparent purpose.

Therefore we went to the resumed talks in Geneva with a whole package of concrete proposals designed to advance matters rapidly. We waited for a positive impetus from the American side, too. Unfortunately, instead of the promised "new ideas" our American partners preferred more often to cite the absence of decisions of principle in Washington. Because of the immobility of the U.S. position, in the course of the last round of talks on nuclear and space arms solutions were not found on a single one of the major problem areas.

Those are the facts. And in this connection certain statements at a high level in Washington, which give the impression that the USSR's "words and deeds diverge," sound rather odd.

The state of affairs at the talks on disarmament, particularly on nuclear and space arms, will be thoroughly discussed with Mr Baker. In our opinion, the time has come to adopt fundamental, bold decisions which would lead to the rapid signing of accords aimed at strengthening international stability and security.

Serious thought and careful analysis of the positions of the sides at the talks have led us to the conclusion that there is a possibility of solutions which would take the sides' interests into account.

The question of mobile ICBM's is ripe for solution, as is that of air-launched cruise missiles. The problem of sea-launched cruise missiles should not be an insuperable obstacle. We will present some specific ideas on this score.

And if it is possible to bring the positions on these issues closer together, then the question of space, of preserving the ABM treaty will loom even larger. Without a guarantee of security in this sphere and without ensuring strategic stability an accord on a radical reduction of strategic offensive armaments is impossible. I hope that the U.S. side will appreciate this. Then it will be possible to find specific formulas to incorporate in the future treaty.

We believe that it will be possible at the upcoming talks to give major political momentum to the solution of the problems of chemical weapons and nuclear tests. We are traveling to the meeting with the secretary of state with a substantial amount of baggage. Whether this program is implemented depends, of course, not only on us. But if this is accomplished the road will be open to an agreement.

[Correspondent] What has changed in Soviet-American relations in the sphere of regional issues? How is cooperation proceeding between the USSR and the United States in this sphere?

[Shevardnadze] Paradoxical though it may seem, the very question is evidence of changes in our relations with the United States in the regional policy sphere. A couple of years ago no one would even have dreamed of Soviet-American cooperation on regional conflicts. It was believed that the only thing we had in common in that area, or, rather, the only thing that divided us, was fierce rivalry. They even talked about the fatal inevitability of regional confrontation between the two powers, which is allegedly due to opposing national interests and ultimate goals, which, they say, amount to pushing the other side out of strategically important areas.

I will say right away that in the early eighties our policy contained many elements which rested on these stereotypes. But, of course, the United States was also geared to confrontation in its global strategy. Various theoretical frameworks were used—from the doctrine of "neoglobalism" to the concept of "low-intensity conflicts" intended to contain and weaken the Soviet Union.

It is a good thing that life—and, with it, thought and diplomacy—in Soviet-American dialogue has not stood still and has demanded a reappraisal of the ideologized approach to regional issues. In our contacts—this also applies to my discussions with the U.S. secretary of state—one increasingly hears such terms as "new thinking," "elimination of the element of East-West rivalry from regional conflicts," and other unusual theses. They had a difficult birth and it needed a change in the situation in certain parts of the world and an agonizing reappraisal of customary notions. But the advance was made. It was aided in many respects by the fundamental political statement, formulated at summit level, that the natural differences between our countries' interests should not perpetuate rivalry—including rivalry on regional issues. In fact, in accordance with the realities of our nuclear age, they should stimulate additional efforts to find areas of coincidence.

It seems to me we have another important common understanding today. The USSR and United States are not omnipotent—they have neither the capacity nor the moral right to impose their versions of a political settlement and national reconciliation on warring sides. We can do a great deal, by conducting a balanced and restrained policy and setting examples of constructive collaboration, to de-escalate existing and prevent new conflicts, to create favorable conditions for a peaceful, just solution.

Much has been achieved already. I do not want to exaggerate the Soviet-American contribution, but I think it has been very considerable, both in the international community's efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war and in the achievement of the wide range of accords aimed at the decolonization of Namibia and a general settlement of the conflict in Southern Africa.

This positive element will become even more tangible if you consider that many changes (for example, the well-known agreement among the Central American states) would scarcely have been possible in conditions of fierce confrontation between the USSR and the United States.

Obviously, there is no need to repeat here the importance of the conclusion of the Genmeva agreements on Afghanistan, of which the USSR and the United States are guarantors. A very great deal depends on their fulfillment—both in regional policy and in Soviet-American relations. Therefore, we are bound to be worried by the position, somewhat provocative even, of the United States, which is gradually becoming one of the participants in the senseless bloodshed. This is a matter for very serious discussion with the U.S. leadership, and we intend to discuss it. I would like to believe that the administration will ultimately display reason and pragmatism, in the best sense of the word.

Another region where effective Soviet-Amertican dialogue is needed is Central America. The position of the Soviet Union and our friends is not directed against anyone's interests, including U.S. interests, and it presupposes a political rather than military solution. But the U.S. approach still bears elements of diktat and threats, which in no way contribute to finding a mutually acceptable solution.

Washington's new taste for serious Soviet-American collaboration in the Near East is promising.

[Correspondent] Recently we have seen an expansion of ties between our country and the United States in the bilateral sphere. Soviet people and Americans are obtaining a growing opportunity to realize their natural desire to know one another better and cooperate to mutual advantage. What are the prospects in this arena?

[Shevardnadze] There has been a considerable increase in contacts between the USSR and the United States since the 1985 Geneva summit through efforts on both sides. Dozens of ministries and public organizations and thousands of citizens are now involved in them.

We are trying to take a new, non-ideologized look at many questions which only yesterday were seen as "eternal irritants." For example, in human rights we are now on the threshold of abandoning the old confrontational agenda and formulating a new, creative one.

We approach the development of ties with the United States with a good bit of "reasonable egoism," and we are endeavoring to build these ties into the rising edifice of perestroyka as effectively as possible.

I do not like dry statistics, but here is just one figure: We now have around 40 intergovernmental agreements operating with the United States.

But it is too early to talk of a genuine qualitative leap forward in Soviet-American bilateral relations. I have this constant feeling that a number of opportunities for the development of equal cooperation in many areas, the kind that we all need, has not yet been explored. This applies to the economic sphere in particular. Let us hope the new realism will prevail here over the old prejudices and fears.

It is after all a matter of things that will benefit both sides. We favor complete economic accountability in our links with the United States.

The new quality of Soviet-American cooperation is evident also in the fact that it has started to spread beyond the boundaries of purely bilateral affairs, aiming increasingly at the solution of global, general human tasks. Environmental conservation, the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, the fight against

terrorism and drug addiction and against diseases that threaten the whole of mankind—are these not tasks worthy of being regarded as priorities for our two powers as we approach the 21st century? In fact, it is very difficult to predict what the greatest threat to the world in a few years' time will be—nuclear weapons, ecological disaster, or some virus.

The prerequisites have now been created for taking Soviet-American dialogue to a new horizon. It is the task of ministers in this connection to pave the way for a new meeting of the Soviet and U.S. top leaders.

It is with these thoughts that I am preparing for the upcoming meetings in the United States. I hope that the talks which will be held there will bear out these hopes.

### U.S. House Votes To Grant Hungary Special Status

*LD0809132489 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] Washington September 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

The U.S. House of Representatives voted (221 for and 169 against) on Thursday to grant Hungary most favoured nation status for three years. The draft law has now been submitted to the Senate for consideration.

The status, establishing lower tax rates on imported Hungarian goods, was earlier annually reviewed by Congress. The first version of the draft law provided for a five-year term, but under pressure of the Congress Ways and Means Committee the term was reduced to three years.

The supporters of the draft law believe that the status will encourage economic and political reforms in Hungary.

However, the Bush administration opposes the law, despite Bush's insistence that he supported making the status permanent during his visit to Hungary in July, the UPI news agency reports.

The U.S. Administration wants the Hungarian parliament to adopt a law granting Hungarians the right to freely leave the country, in exchange for most favoured nation status, the agency reports.

### Would-Be Emigrant to U.S. Interviewed

*LD1209004789*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1905 GMT on 11 September, as part of its "Yunost" program, broadcasts a 4-minute interview by correspondent Viktor Kotov with a young man outside the U.S. Embassy in Moscow who is about to apply to emigrate to the United States.

The young man gives his reasons for wanting to leave the USSR, saying the Soviet Constitution lacks some points found in the U.S. Constitution. He points first to freedom of movement. He then notes the weakness of the Soviet market as far as consumer goods are concerned.

He says he also has political grounds for leaving, namely that he objects to compulsory military service and had been "repressed" after publicly refusing to carry out this duty in May. He was admitted to Psychiatric Hospital No. 14, where they "siezed upon" his religious convictions and threatened him with jail if he did not serve in the Army. The young man says he hopes to get political refugee status in the United States.

The presenter draws attention to the fact that the U.S. Immigration service says that political refugees enjoy all the rights of U.S. citizens, namely housing, social benefits, and so forth. He says it is difficult to moralize in such situations.

### Nitikin Meets Canada's Minister of Agriculture

*LD0609162589 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Premier Vladilen Nikitin received Donald Mazankowski, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture of Canada.

They held a detailed discussion of further development of bilateral trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Canada. Much attention was given to the search for new, promising forms of cooperation drawing on the results of the economic reform and restructuring of foreign economic activity in the USSR. They noted the need for a corresponding improvement in the activity of the mixed Soviet-Canadian commission on cooperation in agriculture. The measures being agreed on with its framework must be more geared to the interests and needs of the direct participants in cooperation.

The establishment of direct links between Soviet union republics and corresponding provinces in Canada, whose representatives have come to the USSR, would have a stimulating effect.

Both sides expressed readiness to continue to actively assist contacts and exchanges between interested organisations and enterprises of the USSR and Canada in the field of agriculture, agricultural machine-building and environmental protection.

## China

### Yakovlev, PRC's Zhu Liang Discuss Relations

*LD1109150989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Meeting of CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev and Member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Zhu Liang—headline]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—During a meeting today between member of the Politburo, Secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev and member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Director of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] Central Committee, Zhu Liang, the historical significance of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations was noted. They came out in favor of consistently putting concrete content into the understandings reached at the meeting of the highest leaders of the USSR and PRC.

During the conversation an invitation from Mikhail Gorbachev to General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee Jiang Zemin was passed on for him to make an official visit to the USSR at a time convenient to him.

During the conversation, several problems of international politics and other issues of mutual interest were touched upon.

Zhu Liang is heading a delegation of workers of the Communist Party of China which is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

### Lukyanov-Led Delegation Arrives in Beijing

*LD1209020889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0130 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Beijing, 12 Sep (TASS)—A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived here today on an official friendly visit at the head of a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At Beijing's Showdu [name as received] Airport, the delegation was met by Peng Chong, vice chairman of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee, and other officials.

The welcoming party included O.A. Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC.

### Lukyanov Speaks on Arrival

*LD1209025889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0220 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Excerpt] Beijing, 12 Sep (TASS)—A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived here today on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee.

At the airport, A.I. Lukyanov made a statement:

"The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation has arrived in the PRC at the invitation of the PRC National People's Congress.

"This visit is of special significance, since the parliamentary relations of our two socialist countries are destined to develop and supplement the qualitative change for the better in Soviet-Chinese relations which was opened by the May summit meeting in Beijing. The normalization of the interstate relations of the USSR and PRC and the restoration of relations between the CPSU and CPC are major landmarks in the lives of our countries.

"Meetings of representatives of the electoral bodies of power of the Soviet Union and China, from our point of view, will be yet another important field in the constructive dialogue the aim of which is the deepening of mutual understanding and cooperation between the USSR and the PRC as equal partners and good neighbors. This is in keeping with the aspirations of our two great peoples and with the interests of preserving peace and stability throughout the world.

"We have something to discuss with our Chinese colleagues. We intend to find out in detail how the course of modernizing society is being pursued in China, and we are ready to share our experience, accumulated in the process of perestroyka in our country.

"Members of the delegation are glad to convey to the Chinese people the warm feelings of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They are glad to congratulate their Chinese friends on the coming 40th anniversary of the formation of the PRC; to wish them peace, happiness, and prosperity, and fresh achievements on the road of building a strong, peace-loving, and free socialist China." [passage omitted]

### Radio Journalist on Lykyanov Visit

*OW1209105589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Station journalist Sidorov's report]

[Text] A delegation of the Supreme Soviet headed by Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, left Moscow today for Beijing. Members of the delegation include representatives of the five largest committees of the Soviet parliament. In this connection, station journalist Sidorov writes:

The visit once again reflects the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. The accord on normalizing [Soviet-Chinese] relations in all fields reached between Gorbachev and Chinese leaders during his recent visit to China became the turning point in Soviet-Chinese relations. This accord has now been substantiated with actual measures. The meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Trade and Economic Committee and the exhibition on Chinese science and technology in the USSR were important steps in the development of cooperation between the two countries. Mutually beneficial relations have now been developed on the provincial and prefectural levels as well as on the national level between the two countries. Exchanges in the cultural, educational, and humanities fields are also growing. The improvement of relations between the two countries can also be proved by the relaxation of the military situation along the border areas of the two countries. During the Paris Conference, Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister Shevardnadze and Chinese Foreign Affairs Minister Qian

Qichen agreed that diplomatic and military representatives of the two countries will meet in November to discuss issues on reducing troops deployed along the border areas of the two countries and on promoting mutual trust in the military field. Now a Soviet parliamentary delegation is visiting China. During an interview with station reporter Plevakho, Lykyanov stressed that the main purpose of his visit to China is to continue the work started by the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. On the delegation's specific mission, Lukyanov said that members of his delegation will study China's experiences in economic modernization and reform.

Lukyanov continued: All countries will choose their own patterns of development and find solutions to their own problems in the light of their historical and cultural conditions. We would be very pleased if [words indistinct] are interested in certain experiences. However, we are particularly interested in the experiences gained by socialist countries in tapping their socialist potentials and improving their people's livelihood.

On the eve of departure for China, Lukyanov emphasized the bright prospects for the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. He expressed the hope that his delegation's visit to China will serve as an important step in promoting mutually beneficial relations and striving for peace and security.

### RSFSR Delegation Visits Northeast China

*OW1009110189 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 27 Aug 89*

[Text] A delegation from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] led by its Foreign Minister Vinogradov has wound up a 2-week visit to China. Invited by China's Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning Provinces, the delegation made a working tour of some cities and rural areas of these provinces from 13 to 23 August.

Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning have maintained friendly, good-neighborly relations, and mutually beneficial trade cooperation with the Soviet Union. After holding talks with Chinese party and state leaders, the delegation initialed the draft of a basic program for cooperation between the RSFSR and three northeast provinces of China between 1990 and 1992. Cooperation agreements will be signed in Moscow by the heads of government of the RSFSR and the three northeast provinces of China.

### Envoys in China Observe Anniversary

*PM1109104989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Laying Wreaths"]

[Text] Beijing, 2 September—Wreath laying ceremonies took place at memorials and graves of Soviet servicemen in a number of cities in the PRC on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the defeat of militarist Japan.

The Soviet Union gave China a great deal of material help and moral support in the period of the Chinese people's war of national liberation against Japanese imperialism. Chinese, Mongolian, and Korean servicemen fought heroically together with fighters and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces against the Japanese invaders. A significant part in the defeat of Japanese militarism was also played by partisan detachments which were active in occupied territories in China and Korea.

Employees of the USSR Embassy in the PRC and the USSR Consulate General in Shanghai laid wreaths at Changchun, Harbin, Shenyang, Daliang, Wuhan, Guilin, Chongqing, and Wanxian.

### Archives Cooperation Accord Signed With PRC

*OW1009125789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Sep 89*

[Text] Archives work is another aspect of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. A protocol has been signed in Moscow on cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese archives organs from 1990 to 1992. Agreements have been reached on wide-ranging cooperation in archives work. A primary activity in this regard will be the holding of a seminar next year on the use of archives related to politics, economy, science, and culture. It has also been decided to hold exhibitions of archives history in each other's country.

### Coal Mining Cooperation With PRC 'Important'

*OW0809105689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[By station reporter (Bereveyedechev); from "Radio Journal: Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] As you know, the coal industry is one sector that plays an important economic role in China and the Soviet Union. Coal is a valuable raw material for the metallurgical and chemical industries and is also an irreplaceable raw material used in the power industry. Our two countries have extracted large quantities of coal. In terms of coal output, China and the Soviet Union rank the top two in the world. Our two countries have reached a well-developed stage in the coal industry for a long time and have accumulated rich experiences. Each has its own achievements. As Soviet-Chinese relations have developed, our two countries have also begun to exchange these achievements with greater enthusiasm. The following is by station reporter (Bereveyedechev) on the development of contacts in this field between our two countries:

Soviet technical assistance to China in designing and building coal enterprises has been the basic direction in

developing bilateral relations. In 1985 the Kharkov State Coal Mine Designing Institute undertook the technical designing of the (Zhenyang) and (Qixin) coal-dressing plants, each with an annual production capacity of 1.8 million metric tons of coal. [Brief recording in Russian heard] Kovalenko, an official of the Soviet Coal Industry Ministry, said: These two coal-dressing plants are now under construction. Soviet experts will go to China to install and readjust the equipment and teach Chinese workers coal-dressing techniques. They are engineers of Soviet coal-dressing plants. The dates for starting operations at these two enterprises have been set. The (Zhenyang) Coal-Dressing Plant will go into operation at the end of 1989. Its equipment has been supplied in full. The (Qixin) Coal-Dressing Plant is scheduled to go into operation in 1991.

The Leningrad State Coal Mine Designing Institute has undertaken another design for China. In 1986 the institute conducted technical and economic verification on open-cut coal mines in Inner Mongolia. Five open-cut mines will be built there with a combined annual production capacity of 35 to 45 million metric tons of brown coal.

[Brief recording in Russian heard] Kovalenko added: In 1989 and 1990, the Soviet Coal Industry Ministry will complete the design and supply of essential equipment to rebuild the (Matou) Coal-Dressing Plant, which was built in 1959 according to the design of the Leningrad State Coal Mine Designing Institute. It is planned increase its production capacity by 50 percent. The (Sanyuan) Coal Mine will also be rebuilt to increase its annual production capacity from 300,000 to 600,000 metric tons.

Direct contacts between coal mining enterprises and designing academies will also develop in the future. For instance, the Donetsk Protective Mask Plant has now established contacts with Chinese partners. The plant produces protective gear for miners. Last spring, Soviet miners visited China, and a Chinese delegation made a return visit. The two sides reached an agreement on providing China with protective masks in exchange for mask accessories. This autumn, experts of the Moscow Coal Science Institute will also explore the possibility of cooperation. These contacts and the useful experiences and exchanges were topics of Soviet Coal Industry Minister Shchadov's talks with his Chinese counterpart in Beijing, in which basic prospects for the development of bilateral contacts were determined.

[Brief recording in Russian heard] The long-range cooperation plan between the Soviet Union and China calls for the establishment of a few more coal-dressing plants and oil shale mining enterprises in China. In conclusion, Kovalenko said: The possibility of a joint complex for transporting mineral rock in thick coal beds and the production of mixing machines for use in mine shafts and galleries will also be discussed.

## Chen Muhua Offers Impressions of Moscow Visit

*OW1009114489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Women's Federation headed by Chen Muhua, its chairwoman and vice chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress [NPC], ended its visit to the Soviet Union on 28 August. On the same day the delegation held a final round of talks with a Soviet women's delegation at the office of the Soviet Women's Committee. After the talks, Comrade Chen Muhua was interviewed by station reporter (Krechev). Following is a recording of their conversation:

[Begin recording] [(Krechev)] I am a reporter from Moscow radio. I have a few questions to ask you. What do you think of your current visit to the USSR?

[Chen Muhua] We have successfully completed our visit.

[(Krechev)] I understand you held talks with (Bimakov), chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and Maslyukov, candidate member of the Politburo. What are the results of your talks?

[Chen Muhua] I am very grateful to them for taking the time to receive me and other members of my delegation. Both sides exchanged views on issues of common interest. The talks were held in a very friendly atmosphere. I am very grateful and very glad.

[(Krechev)] I have another question. You have visited a number of Soviet women's organizations and nurseries. You have seen their working conditions. In your opinion, who is confronted with more difficulties and problems—Soviet women or Chinese women?

[Chen Muhua] We are very much impressed with the Soviet Union's and government's concern for the growth of women and children. We understand that Soviet women are a very important force in economic activities and in other fields. Soviet children are healthy and we have seen their performances, very good performances. We are deeply impressed.

[(Krechev)] Another question. The Soviet Union is carrying out a reform. I guess you have received some information about the Soviet reform. Do you think there are similarities between reforms in the Soviet Union and China?

[Chen Muhua] The similarity is that both countries are carrying out reforms. As for specific reforms, they must be carried out in line with the specific conditions in each country.

[(Krechev)] What are your views on cooperation, or expanding cooperation, between the two countries?

[Chen Muhua] In May this year Comrade Gorbachev visited China. He held talks with Chinese leaders. He announced his intention of promoting cooperation between our two parties and countries. Both sides signed

a joint communique. We are ready to further expand the relations between our two countries on the basis of the joint communique. [end recording]

### PRC Charge of U.S. 'Interference' Reported

*PM1109150389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Statement Made"]

[Text] Beijing, 31 Aug—The reason for certain difficulties arising in relations between the PRC and the United States is U.S. interference in China's internal affairs. This is harming Chinese interests and wounding its national pride, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated here at a press conference. He held the United States entirely responsible for the present state of relations between the two countries.

The PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman indicated that the arrest of those guilty of organizing the recent student unrest and counterrevolutionary revolt in Beijing cannot be connected with the problem of human rights violation. The actions of the Chinese authorities completely accord with the country's legislation and are China's sovereign right, which must not be breached by a single international organization or state. The accusations made in the West against China are without foundation, he stressed.

### Chinese Efforts To Curb Drug Traffic Noted

*PM1109104589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Sep 89 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Obstacle on the Path of Drugs Mafia"]

[Text] For the first time in Chinese legal history a document has been published entailing criminal punishment for producing, smuggling, or selling drugs. The document concerned is a local statute ratified by the people's congress standing committee in the southwest province of Yunnan, which borders a world center of "white death" production—the imfamous "golden triangle."

In accordance with the document drug addicts, persons involved in the illegal trafficking and sale of narcotics, and anyone shielding dealers in the drugs business from justice will be subject to prosecution. Responsibility for organizing the compulsory medical treatment of those addicted to the pernicious habit is entrusted to local social security organs.

Punishment measures for growing and selling narcotics in "small amounts" are also defined by the provisions—from a warning to 15 days' detention and a fine up to 3,000 yuan or "labor reeducation." All provisions of the document, which will come into force as of 1 January next year, will also apply to foreigners.

According to information in the Chinese press, Yunnan Province is one of the transfer points on the secret trails used by the narcotics trade. Opium, morphine, and heroin come through southwest China to the international market.

### PRC Scientists Visit Research Institutes

*OW0809230189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[From the program: "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao"]

[Text] Recently a group of Chinese physicists headed by Professor Wang Ganchang, honorary president of the Research Institute of Atomic Energy Sciences of China, visited the USSR. Other group members included Professor Ding Datao, researcher of the institute; and Wang Guogan, a young physicist.

The Chinese scientists visited the USSR at the invitation of the USSR United Nuclear Research Institute, which is located at the city of Dubna in suburban Moscow. The Institute's membership includes all the 10 CEMA members and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. China was one of the founders of this international science center, and until 1956, approximately 100 Chinese physicists and engineers regularly took part in theoretical and applied scientific studies at the laboratories of this institute. Professors Wang Ganchang and Ding Datao also worked there previously. According to their recollection, each of them spent about 5 years at this institute. In Dubna, which they had not visited for more than 20 years, the Chinese scientists had a reunion with their former associates and friends. Both sides were very pleasant.

The Chinese physicists also toured the Institute of High-Energy Physical Research in Serpukhov, a city 100 kilometers south of Moscow. While in Moscow, the Chinese physicists were received at the [name indistinct] Institute of Nuclear Energy Research. In short, the Chinese physicists had a tight schedule during their USSR visit. Everywhere they went they were warmly received and fully briefed on the ongoing research projects, applied studies, and new plans for the construction of laboratories and other facilities.

A journalist from this station interviewed the Chinese physicists and asked them to comment on prospects for cooperation with the United Nuclear Research Institute. Professor Wang Ganchang is now sitting before a microphone in a studio of this station:

[Begin Wang recording] We hope China and the USSR can exchange researchers in the future. This is very important. In this way we can [words indistinct] closer relations. We also hope that China will develop mutual ties with other countries [words indistinct]. This is very important for scientific development in the whole world. China used to have very good relations with the United Nuclear Research Institute; we hope these relations can continue. I think China should send people here to do research work because the equipment in certain departments in China is not as good as the equipment available

here. The USSR can also send people to China to study things in the theoretical field. We can build a large research institute in China, too. It can also be a central-level institute. In the future, we may [words indistinct] we hope our exchange programs can go on because this will be good for both sides. [end recording]

We hope the Chinese physicists' visit to the USSR will expedite the two countries' cooperation in this area.

### PRC Minister Cited on Anticorruption Drive

*PM0809155089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5*

[PRAVDA, TASS report under the rubric "From the Stream of News: 4 September": "Struggle Against Corruption"]

[Text] PRC Minister of Supervision Wei Jianxing has called for the stepping up of the struggle against corruption, bribery, and embezzlement. He stressed the great practical significance of the recently published joint announcement by the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office, whereby officials guilty of abuses who give themselves up by the end of October can count on leniency. In the last 2 weeks, he said, more than 200 corrupt officials have voluntarily given themselves up to the authorities. As a result more than 2 million yuan and 50,000 Hong Kong dollars have been returned to the state exchequer. A significant quantity of unlawfully acquired color television sets, refrigerators, tape recorders, motor cycles, and cars have also been handed in.

## Northeast Asia

### Rogachev Reaffirms No Diplomatic Ties With ROK

*PM1109123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev was asked to comment on F. Shabshina's article "Can the 'Korean Knot' Be Unraveled" (IZVESTIYA 1 September this year), in which the author proposes establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and South Korea.

That is not the official position of the Soviet Government and the USSR Foreign Ministry, I.A. Rogachev said. Our policy on the Korean question remains unchanged, and we do not intend to undertake diplomatic recognition of South Korea. We implement on a nongovernmental level the ties that we do have with South Korea, chiefly in the trade and economic sphere. Of course, the "Korean knot" is of concern to Soviet people. The DPRK Government has made many proposals as to how to unravel it. We support those proposals. The chief thing, in our opinion, is to actively promote a dialogue between North and South Korea.

### Consular Exchange Not 'Recognition'

*LD0809151789 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The South Korean YONHAP News Agency has reported that South Korea and the Soviet Union allegedly plan to exchange consuls this year as a step towards diplomatic relations.

In fact, our country's position on the Korean issue remains unchanged and the USSR is not planning the diplomatic recognition of South Korea.

This was officially confirmed the other day at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre.

The Soviet Union and South Korea maintain trading, economic, cultural and some other contacts at non-governmental level.

The Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry opened an office in Seoul last April and the Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KOTRA) opened its office in Moscow on July 7.

For these missions to be able to function normally, they need to have, as it appears, the possibility to exercise limited consular functions connected with visas.

But this can by no means be seen as official consular relations between the two countries.

### Soviet Organs Congratulate DPRK on Anniversary

*SK1109123589 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 9 Sept 89*

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Council of Ministers sent congratulatory messages to Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] and president of the DPRK, and Comrade Yon Hyong-muk, premier of the State Administration Council of the DPRK, on the occasion of the 41th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, national holiday of the Korean people.

The congratulatory messages said:

Promulgating the founding of the DPRK on 9 September, 1948 was the inevitable end result of the prolonged heroic struggle of the Korean people for freedom, sovereignty, social security, and opened far-reaching

prospects before the country which made it possible for the DPRK to have rapidly advanced toward a new road.

Today, the DPRK is a socialist country with industry and agriculture vibrantly developing. The Republic has reached a higher stage in the development of science, culture, education, and public health. In greeting the success in the socialist construction made by the working people of the DPRK, we are convinced that the working people of the DPRK will be successful in implementing the 3rd Seven-Year Plan to develop the national economy and carry through the decisions of the 6th Congress of the WPK.

The peaceful initiatives and proposals, put forth by the WPK and the Government of the DPRK to make the situation on the Korean peninsula wholesome in order to alleviate military confrontation between the North and the South, withdraw the foreign forces from South Korea, turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, and hold dialogue between North and South Korea, have been invariably supported in Soviet Union. In addition, these lines are in accord with consolidation of security in the Asia-Pacific region and international detente.

The friendship between the Soviet and Korean people has a long revolutionary tradition. Relations, which were established by the treaty on friendly cooperation and mutual aid that was signed on 1 July 1961 between our two countries, have been continuously strengthened and expanded according to firm Marxism-Leninism. We are convinced that the extensive and fruitful Soviet-Korean cooperation will contribute to the settlement of the urgent economic task and to the social development of the two countries' people.

In conclusion, these congratulatory messages wish the Korean people success in realizing the country's reunification, the strongest desire of the Korean people.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Indonesian President Suharto Continues Visit

#### 'Broad Range' of Topics Discussed

*PM1209114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and President Suharto"]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Indonesian President Suharto discussed principled questions of the relations between the two countries in a lengthy and detailed tete a tete conversation in the Kremlin 11 September, and defined the prospects for their further development in the context of the current situation in Asia and throughout the world.

Comrade Gorbachev described the visit of President Suharto to the Soviet Union as a very important event not only for both countries, but also within the framework of the whole international process. Both countries were approaching the current state of mutual understanding in a thought-out and responsible way, and as a result a reliable foundation has been created for relations worthy of the situation and capabilities of two such states as the Soviet Union and Indonesia.

We welcome this, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed, and appreciate President Suharto's role in all this at its just worth.

The conversation touched on a broad range of questions, starting with the very roots of the friendliness of the two peoples and their reciprocal warm feelings, which go back to the time of the Indonesian liberation struggle for the independence and integrity of their young state.

The president gave an extensive grounding in the principles of the Indonesia's internal and foreign policy, which ensures it a confident internal national construction and active constructive work in the international arena. According to Suharto, the national priority in its policy enables Indonesia to realize very profitable cooperation with all countries on the principles of noninterference and coexistence.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that such a policy is opening up great possibilities for cooperation and exchange, including trade and economic exchange, between Indonesia and the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev dwelt on the main ideas and principles of the new thinking and their realization in various directions—ranging from disarmament to the settlement of regional conflicts.

The interlocutors discovered a great closeness in evaluations when exchanging opinions regarding the difficulties and obstacles that are still emerging in the course of the positive changes that have started in the world. Mikhail Gorbachev noted that taking on force in modern world politics has no prospect for solving both the problems that have built up and those that are arising. This must be recognized just like the principles of freedom of choice and of the balance of interests.

Dealt with in the conversation were the USSR's and Indonesia's relations with states that have a considerable influence on world politics, with their neighboring and other states, the growing role in world affairs of the United Nations Organization, and the Nonaligned Movement, which demonstrated at the Belgrade conference both a new atmosphere in interrelations between its participants and new approaches, taking into account the changes in the international situation.

Great attention was paid to the state of world economic ties on a north-south and south-south basis—such global problems as the danger to ecology and foreign debt. These require the internationalization of quests for a solution that leaves out selfish interests.

On the issue of a Cambodian settlement, evaluations largely coincided.

They held a sort of review of events in the Asia-Pacific region in light of the world reaction to the Vladivostok-Krasnoyarsk initiative by the Soviet Union. Along with the great difficulties that are natural for such a complex and diverse region, certain encouraging progress was noted.

The international significance of perestroyka in the Soviet Union was spoken of, in whose success not only the Soviet people but the whole world community certainly has an interest.

At the talks that then took place between the delegations the following participated: E.A. Shevardnadze, L.A. Voronin, M.I. Ibragimov, K.F. Katushev, M.A. Moiseyev, and L.A. Chizhov; and on the Indonesian side—Radius Prawiro, Ali Alatas, Murdiono, Tri Sutrisno [name as transliterated], Yanvar Marakh Dzhani [name as transliterate], Pudzhi Kuntarso [name as transliterated], Sri Khadi [name as transliterated], Mukhammad Khasan Adami [name as transliterated], Sulayeman Pringgodigdo [name as transliterated], Sandzhoto Pamungkas [name as transliterated], and Sukharono [name as transliterated]. Questions of trade and other economic links were the chief topic. The results of the work that has been done recently were summed up and practical means and forms of cooperation were sketched out. The sides agreed that the governments will stimulate efforts aimed at making it as mutually advantageous as possible.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Suharto expressed their great satisfaction at the talks and spoke in favor of continuing contacts at all levels.

## Joint Document Signed 11 Sep

*LD1109203589 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Indonesian President Suharto signed today in the Kremlin a statement on the fundamentals of friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia.

Konstantin Katushev and Radius Praviro signed a protocol of the first session of the Joint Soviet-Indonesian Commission for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the two countries.

Present at the signing of the documents was Eduard Shevardnadze and other Soviet and Indonesian officials.

## Joint Statement Published

*PM1209112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 1-2*

["Statement on the Foundations of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between the UDDE and Indonesia"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Expressing satisfaction at the positive changes taking place in bilateral relations, which are characterized by a rise in the level of mutual understanding, friendship, and mutually advantageous cooperation, and prompted by an aspiration for their further all- round development;

Proceeding from the special significance of the present stage of world development, when humanity is faced with the need to create the bases of a new world system providing reliable guarantees for its survival;

Taking account of the new political thinking that lies at the heart of the international course of the Soviet Union, thinking that is based on a recognition of the priority of common human values, demilitarization, democratization, and deideologization of relations between states, and the independent and active foreign policy of Indonesia, which is directed at confirming principles of nonalignment and assisting the observance of peace, independence, and social justice in the world by maintaining relations of friendship and cooperation with all states regardless of their socioeconomic system;

Noting the coincidence or proximity of standpoints of the two states on a broad range of key political and economic problems of contemporary international relations;

Striving to promote in every way the strengthening of universal and all-embracing security and the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons, the ensuring of a climate of trust and mutual understanding between peoples, and the broadening of equal, mutually advantageous cooperation between them;

Reaffirming once again their firm adherence to the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter;

The USSR and the Republic of Indonesia state that in the development of their relations they will be guided by the following principles and objectives.

I

The USSR and the Republic of Indonesia will actively develop friendly relations and constructive cooperation on the basis of complete respect for the independence and freedom of choice of each state in relation to its national development and the observance of the principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

The sides intend to strive to give Soviet-Indonesian relations qualitatively new parameters, to invigorate and

deepen political dialogue, and to expand interaction at international forums in the in the interests of ensuring universal peace and security.

They will stimulate the development of contacts and exchange of visits at various levels, including summit level, promote the development of interparliamentary ties and the establishment of direct business cooperation between corresponding state establishments, and further improve consular relations.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia are expressing mutual interest in the development of stable and mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation as an important component in the entire range of Soviet- Indonesian relations. They will undertake joint efforts to raise the quality and broaden the amount of this cooperation and will actively seek new forms for it.

From the standpoint of the opportunities that are opening up, the sides will encourage further broadening of links in the scientific and technological sphere, including peaceful use of space, assimilation of resources of the world's oceans and other resources, and will foster exchange of experience in economic, social, and cultural construction, proceeding from the principle of mutual respect for the national authenticity and the cultural heritage of their peoples.

II

The Soviet Union and Indonesia consider that force and the threat of force can no longer be an instrument of foreign policy, that genuine progress is impossible at the expense of infringing the rights and interests of individual countries and peoples. The only alternative to confrontation has to be cooperation based on equality of rights and directed toward strengthening peace and international security in the name of securing the supreme right of people to life, and to a free, independent, and dignified existence.

III

The Soviet Union and Indonesia are convinced that the preservation of human civilization and the harmonious development of all members of the world community are possible only on condition that the threat of force cannot be an instrument.

The sides confirm their determination to continue their efforts toward ending the arms race and implementing concrete measures on nuclear and conventional disarmament under effective international control.

The sides come out in favor of ending all nuclear weapons' tests and of concluding an international agreement on a complete and comprehensive ban on them. They take as a starting point the particular importance of ensuring the nonproliferation of nuclear arms and regard the creation of nuclear weapon-free zones as an important measure for disarmament and as an integral part of the common efforts for the creation of a world free from nuclear arms.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia consider it vitally important to prevent weapons being put into space.

The sides stress the necessity for energetic efforts for the speediest conclusion of work on a convention on the complete and effective banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia regard foreign military bases as only a temporary phenomenon and are in favor of them being eliminated in the final resort.

The sides call on all members of the international community to contribute in every way to as speedy as possible an achievement of these lofty goals, combining the steps they are taking in the framework of bilateral talks with their activity in multilateral forms on disarmament.

IV

Being conscious of their responsibility for maintaining a situation favoring the gradual development and prosperity of all states situated in the Asia-Pacific region, the sides consider it important to broaden dialogue and consultation with the aim of solving the region's problems, including creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust, reducing the level of military activity, and setting up mutually-beneficial, open, and nondiscriminatory cooperation in commercial-economic, scientific-technical, and humanitarian spheres. They call on all interested states to facilitate such efforts.

The USSR and Indonesia confirm their readiness to develop friendly ties with all states in the region. In this connection they note the significance of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and the steps taken toward normalization of relations between Indonesia and the PRC, emphasizing that these acts serve the cause of consolidating peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole and impinge upon no one's interests.

V

The USSR and Indonesia are convinced that a comprehensive and just settlement of the Cambodian conflict will make a positive contribution to a general improvement of the situation in the Asia- Pacific region and will open up the way toward the creation of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia.

They express readiness, in consultation with all the states of Southeast Asia, to take practical steps with the aim of promoting the strengthening of peace, stability, and security in Southeast Asia as well as the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

VI

The Soviet Union and Indonesia state their readiness to continue to step up efforts to settle chronic regional conflicts and to remove centers of tension by political means on the basis of taking account of the balance of interests of all sides involved while guaranteeing the right of every people to freely choose its own national development. The Soviet Union and Indonesia consider interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states under any pretext whatsoever as inadmissable.

VII

Expressing profound concern at the continuing exacerbation of the economic situation in the world, the sides affirm the urgent need to intensify efforts and adopt effective measures to overcome the growing gap in the levels of socioeconomic development between developed and developing countries of the world. They consider that to this end dialogue within the UN system, aimed at establishing a new economic order on the principles of justice and equality, should be reactivated. For this, the economic security of any state should be guaranteed and the economic interdependence of all members of the world community should be acknowledged.

Noting the huge growth of scientific and technical potential in the world, the Soviet Union and Indonesia consider that it should serve as a means for the creation of new, wider possibilities for the effective solution, through joint efforts, of global economic, energy and other tasks for the good of the whole of mankind.

Convinced that the cessation of the global arms race and reduction of world military expenditure would make a significant contribution to international development, the sides stress in particular the need for the funds and means—scientific, technological, and material—now feeding the arms race to be switched to the needs of economic and social development, particularly the urgent needs of developing countries.

VIII

Noting the serious nature of the threat of irreversible destruction of the environment, the USSR and Indonesia advocate setting up broad international cooperation for the preservation on the planet of the natural environment which mankind inhabits and which supports life. They express the hope that the creation under the United Nations of an ecological aid center could be a real step toward attaining these aims.

IX

The USSR and Indonesia will continue to develop cooperation and interaction on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening the United Nations Organization, enhancing to the utmost its role and effectiveness as a universal instrument of maintaining peace and international security and of democratizing international relations.

X

The sides note with satisfaction the exceptionally important role of the Nonaligned Movement, of which one of the founder members is the Republic of Indonesia, in resolving topical international problems and in the struggle for a nuclear free world and identical security for all countries and peoples, for the realization of the concept of "disarmament for development," for strengthening the independence of states, and for broadening international cooperation on the basis of equality and equal rights.

The sides are convinced that the activities of the Nonaligned Movement serve the vital interests of the world community and promote the strengthening of universal peace and international law and order.

XI

The sides formally state that the broadening and deepening of Soviet-Indonesian relations is not directed against the interests of any third state and does not affect their obligations on bilateral, regional, or multilateral bases in respect of other states.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Suharto

## Gorbachev Gives Dinner for Suharto

*LD1109190789 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbachev gave a dinner in honour of Indonesian President Suharto and his wife at the Grand Kremlin Palace today.

Indonesian officials accompanying President Suharto in his trip to the Soviet Union were also present.

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister, vice-presidents of the USSR Supreme Soviet, vice-chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet ministers and other officials attended the dinner from the Soviet side.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and President Suharto made speeches which were met with applause.

The dinner passed in a friendly atmosphere.

## Gorbachev's Kremlin Dinner Speech

*PM1209114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "In Both Peoples' Interests"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, Mrs Suharto! Ladies and gentlemen! Comrades!

I greet you all. Today we mark a significant event. The 1989 Soviet-Indonesian summit meeting will occupy a prominent place in the history of relations between the USSR and Indonesia and in contemporary international development. The Soviet-Indonesian dialogue and cooperation have an independent value. They are, however, an important element of the grand processes currently under way in Asia and in the whole world.

Your visit, our meeting, the substantive talks and their exceptional [neordinarnyy] result—the joint statement—also have an emotional aspect. This is because all this makes it possible to hope that friendly relations between our peoples will be resumed. Long before the emergence of the Republic of Indonesia, the Soviet people had with sincere sympathy and interest been pursuing your people's struggle for independence, striving to facilitate its success.

Next year the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations will be marked. At that time a beginning was established for interstate ties between the USSR and Indonesia. But it is not only politicians and diplomats who were establishing them. They were the results of the work of thousands of Soviet and Indonesian people—engineers, builders, workers, scientists, culture figures, military men. Thus goodwill, mutual respect, sympathy, and lasting interest in each other emerged—sentiments to which we are giving a new momentum today.

We relate with great understanding to the efforts of the president and government to build in their country a modern prosperous state based on their own traditions and possibilities. We sincerely wish the Indonesian people success.

Your trip around the Soviet Union was brief. But you have probably gained some kind of picture of the country and the atmosphere in our society. Perhaps you have even felt the special sharpness of the moment we are now living through. Indeed, all the problems of the transfer of society from one form to another have come together and become heated in the development of perestroyka. We are on the eve of fundamental decisions in implementing political and economic reform. We have to determine the road of development of our multinational federal state in present-day conditions.

Like all revolutions, to gain a firm hold and to go forward, perestroyka requires at the same time concern for people's current needs and the planning of future tasks, only the resolution of which can give the people a new quality of life. Perestroyka requires extraordinary efforts, the consolidation of society, endurance, creativity, boldness, and responsibility. It signifies a drastic break with the customary way of life, old dogmas, and methods of work. Perestroyka requires deep changes in the very consciousness of the person, his attitude toward work, respectfulness and understanding for the national distinctions among the numerous peoples of the USSR, and recognition in deed of the interdependency of the interests of all layers of the population. It needs a new moral atmosphere.

Perestroyka is our internal matter. It is necessary for our people. But all countries and the world community will win as a result of its success, for perestroyka is also new thinking in foreign policy. And our resolute following of its ideas and principles has already reflected on the world atmosphere.

I don't think it would be stretching a point for the sake of courtesy to say that the new thinking is in some respects in tune with the ideas of Bandung, which were heard so powerfully and reassuringly in the fifties and sixties. The new thinking has also absorbed the ideas of the Nonaligned Movement, in which Indonesia plays a prominent role.

Mr President, "Unity in diversity" is inscribed on the crest of the Republic of Indonesia. But this motto may be applied not only to Indonesia's specific national character; it is a formula which is topical for the whole Asia-Pacific region. In this enormous, multifaceted part of the planet to which, it is believed, the epicenter of civilization will shift, tens of states are becoming more and more clearly aware of their common nature and are beginning to implement it in the region and in the world arena. And, something which is especially important, they are seeking solutions not in setting themselves off against the rest of the world but through the affirmation of their legitimate rights and interests within the framework of world development.

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We sincerely welcome such an approach and these efforts.

At the same time, huge stockpiles of weapons, including nuclear ones, have been piled up here, and conflicts and dangerous tension remain in a number of places. The process of militarization in sensitive areas of the region is being stepped up under the false pretext that the road to peace allegedly lies through armament and the show of force, that security is allegedly more reliable in conditions of military confrontation. We have noted that opposition is growing in the Asia-Pacific region to militarization and to the policy of foreign military bases, which does indeed go against the concept put forward by the ASEAN countries of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, a zone without nuclear weapons. This is a splendid idea in the spirit of the new times. Its implementation would mean powerful progress for the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region, for the good of the whole world community.

Taking advantage of your presence, Mr President, as the leader of the largest member state of ASEAN, I would like to confirm that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of links with the members of that association and is ready for contacts with it as a whole. I think that the prerequisites for this exist: a similarity in our evaluations of the current international situation, an aspiration for a more stable world, an interest in economic relations built on a basis of justice and mutual benefit.

The Vladivostok-Krasnoyarsk platform takes precisely this as its starting point. And in questions of security, its idea is to reduce military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region and to create an atmosphere of trust and a feeling of general security.

The restructuring of Soviet military policy on the principles of reasonable defense sufficiency goes not only in a Western but also in an Eastern direction. The reduction of armed forces and weapons in the Asian part of the USSR has already begun. We are in favor of equal security for all without exception. We are decisively against Asia and the Pacific becoming an object of confrontation and struggle for the hegemony of anyone at all. The time has passed when sovereign peoples and states were turned, against their will and with impunity, into hostages to the rivalry of the "stronger powers."

Our peace proposals are an invitation to a joint, all embracing, and constructive discussion of the region's problems. We greatly appreciate Indonesia's careful and serious approach to the Soviet initiatives. We are impressed by the activeness of the Indonesian leadership in the affairs of the Asia-Pacific region and in the international arena.

During our conversation today with the president and at the negotiations, the USSR and Indonesia confirmed a community of approaches to current key world problems. We are unanimous in that delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear annihilation and the problem of its self-preservation and survival come above all else. We have mutual understanding of the exceptional importance of universal human tasks connected with economic backwardness, foreign debts, protection of the environment, and formation of a new world economic order. Collaboration between the Soviet Union and Indonesia—we are convinced of this—could be useful in all these directions of progress toward a new era of peace.

The president and I discussed the situation in Southeast Asia, in particular the Cambodian problem. We value Indonesia's active participation in the process of unblocking this center of tension. The international conference on Cambodia that recently took place in Paris so far has not produced a settlement. But it has strengthened the basis for continuing joint work and finding a fair solution. It once again confirmed the rule, by now recognized by the majority of the world community: the settlement of conflicts is possible only through political means.

Mr President, you came to our country directly after taking part in one of the most representative political forums of our time, the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement. It was a major event in world politics. The declaration of the Belgrade conference is an important contribution to the process of collaboration between the leading forces of the present day "along every azimuth."

In this connection it is important that it has again stressed the role of the United Nations Organization as a forum for collective action in the interests of all and as an irreplaceable instrument of democratization of international relations. We share the hopes for a better world expressed in this document and believe that the declaration and the atmosphere itself of this multipartite summit will invest the Nonaligned Movement with new dynamism and will promote improvement in the world situation, the settlement of regional conflicts, and cooperation in resolving global problems, in which the North and the South, the East, and the West are equally interested.

Mr President, I will permit myself thus to appraise the results of the Soviet-Indonesian meeting in Moscow. [passage indistinct]

We have jointly defined the principles by which we are guided and, adhering to their own political systems and philosophical views, the Soviet Union and Indonesia will be able to raise their relations to a new level.

These principles were solemnly confirmed in the statement on the foundations of friendly relations and cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Indonesia that we have signed. This document imbues our relations with a new quality. The statement transcends the boundaries of bilateral relations. Having chosen values common to all mankind as a reference point for their development, two such influential states as the USSR and Indonesia strengthen the foundations of the modern world and international security.

To the well-being, happiness, and prosperity of the friendly Indonesian people!
To the health of Mr and Mrs Suharto and our guests!"

### Suharto Gives Speech at Dinner

*PM1209113789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "In Both Peoples' Interests"]

[Text] Your Excellency Mr President and Mrs Raisa Gorbachev.
Esteemed guests.

My wife and I are happy to have been given the opportunity to visit your splendid country upon the invitation of His Excellency Mr President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Mrs Raisa gorbachev, for which I am very grateful.

Since the moment I first stepped on Soviet soil 4 days ago in splendid Tashkent and, subsequently, during my visit to astonishing Samarkand and the heroic city of Leningrad, until this magnificant state reception I have perceived an atmosphere of nothing other than cordial hospitality and friendship. I am sure that the hearts of my wife and all the members of the delegation accompanying me during this visit are filled with the same sentiments.

The atmosphere at this state dinner and especially the words which have just been uttered by His Excellency Mr President are the supreme expression of the friendship which we feel. I interpret all this as a manifestation of respect not only for me, but also as one which applies to the whole Indonesian people.

And the main purpose of my present visit to the Soviet Union is precisely to convey the sentiments of friendship of my people. For us the Soviet Union is a country with an exceptionally rich past. We admire your leadership, Mr President, which has brought great changes to various spheres of the life of the Soviet people. Under your leadership the Soviet Union has undertaken impressive steps in the renewal of its society. The ideas of openness in politics, glasnost, which have become well known everywhere, and the no less well-known structural changes in the economy, perestroyka, and democratization have aroused efforts of renewal in the sphere of politics and economics and in the sociocultural and other aspects of life. I wish for nothing other than the most complete success for these efforts and measures in the name of the further progress and prosperity of the Soviet people.

As a great power, which now regards the principle of peaceful coexistence as being of paramount importance, the Soviet Union has promoted the achievement of a secure and peaceful situation in the world. I have managed to notice that the Soviet Union attaches very great attention to the acceleration of economic development. All of that has created a new image of the Soviet Union in the world.

Esteemed present company, I attach great significance to my visit to the Soviet Union. I hope that it may become a new historic landmark in relations between our two peoples and states.

It is the first visit of a president of Indonesia to the Soviet Union since the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the last such visit. During those 25 years many substantial changes have occurred in both countries and in various regions in the whole world.

Thanks to the progress of science and technology, thanks to the progress in the sphere of means of transport and communications and to the mighty flow of information, the world is being perceived more and more as an integral whole. Such development has given rise to the new realization that all states, both large and small, both strong and weak, those who have achieved progress and

developing ones,—that all without exception, bear responsibility for, the future of the whole of mankind.

Only joint efforts of the whole of mankind can eliminate the threat of nuclear war, hunger, diseases, injustice, and destruction of the environment, which threaten to destroy man and the entire civilization. The realization of all this was right from the outset bequeathed to us by our predecessors, the founders of the Republic of Indonesia, the authors of our Constitution. The first sentence of the preamble to the basic law, adopted more that 44 years ago, emphasized that "independence indeed is the right of all peoples and that is why oppression in the world should be eliminated as being contrary to humanity and justice." That is why since its very birth the Republic of Indonesia has been against oppression in all its forms and manifestations.

Another important bequest, solemnly, and with full responsibility handed down in the preamble to our Constitution, says that Indonesia should take part in the creation of a world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

These bequests from the preamble to the Constitution have become the basis and main guidelines for our active and independent foreign policy. We are firm in our resolve to develop with other countries, irrespective of their political or social systems, relations of friendship and mutually-beneficial cooperation, mutual and sincere respect for each other's sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs. Since the first sentence of the preamble to the Constitutional emphasizes that "independence is the right of all peoples," we treat with sincere respect the choice of the political and social system made by other states.

For Indonesia peaceful coexistence of all peoples and mutually-beneficial cooperation for the sake of peace and well-being of mankind are not short-term benefit considerations but an issue of principle which we invariably defend.

This is precisely why, Mr President, sincere peaceful initiatives, whatever their origin might be, always receive full support from Indonesia.

Indonesia welcomes with hope the deep changes that have been taking place in international relations over the past few years, which, in particular, have been marked by mutual rapprochement and an improvement of relations between world states, especially between great powers. In its turn, this fact has promoted relaxation of international tension and stimulated efforts in search of peaceful settlement to armed conflicts in various parts of the world. Such a development has given rise to new hopes and opportunities for achieving peace and prosperity equal and just for all peoples.

The signing of the INF treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States was the first step in the process of complete and comprehensive disarmament, first of all in the sphere of nuclear armaments.

As a state which bears constitutional responsibility for achieving peace and international security, Indonesia, together with other countries, is striving to stimulate the implementation of complete and comprehensive disarmament to free the world from the threat of war, especially of a nuclear war, and promote the establishment of more harmonious international relations. We think that success of disarmament is important not only for peace and international security but also for economic development, especially for that of developing countries.

In our own region—Southeast Asia—Indonesia together with other ASEAN member-states is fully determined to turn this area of the earth into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

ASEAN also expresses the will of the states belonging to it to independently determine the future of that region through the concept of regional defense capability, which is based on the national defense capability of each individual state.

In the interests of lasting peace and stability in Southeast Asia, which is of vitally important significance for us, Indonesia and the other member-countries of ASEAN over the past few years have sought various ways of stopping the armed conflict in Cambodia and replacing it with dialogue and negotiations aimed at achieving a comprehensive, just, and definitive settlement. At informal meetings in Jakarta, which have made it possible to assemble not only all the parties directly involved in the conflict in question, but also other states of Southeast Asia, it proved possible to achieve a number of joint accords, including those on the aims, general framework and basic elements of a comprehensive political settlement.

After that, and up to the start of the international conference on Cambodia which started in Paris on 30 July this year, the movement for a peace settlement has constantly gathered pace.

Most unfortunately, the Paris conference was not able to bring a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian conflict. However, it must not be said that the conference was a complete failure, because the negotiations which were held for a month evidently made more specific progress in defining various elements and aspects which should become an integral part of a comprehensive settlement.

As one of the cochairmen of the conference, Indonesia intends to continue its efforts to make a contribution to the cause of achieving a just peace in Cambodia.

As in the political sphere, important and fundamental changes are presently taking place in the sphere of world economics which will bring fresh challenges and fresh hopes. The rise of new economic centers ought to stimulate a more just international division of labor. However, these important changes are so far only bringing benefits to any significant degree to the industrially

developed countries. The developing countries, in which the majority of mankind lives, will continue to bear the shackles of poverty and backwardness. All their wishing, all their strength, and all their national potential is being given to making progress. However, the socioeconomic problems which they face are so great that their progress is insufficient to overcome the obstacles. Limitation of funds and possession of technology and their insufficient experience and ability to organize and manage have become obstacles to their progress. Undoubtedly, the impression is created that they are incapable of withstanding the increasingly harsh competition in the open and integrating world economy. These distortions will constantly represent a source of concern in the world. In the long term no state or group of states will gain from this, including the industrially developed countries. It is precisely for this reason that it is essential to raise the level of responsibility of the whole world community in the name of close cooperation to improve the present situation and advance toward the creation of a more just and balanced world economic order which would guarantee the prosperity of all of mankind.

Your Excellency Mr President,

In the face of the new challenges, the new opportunities and new hopes for the future of this world, we in Indonesia are also actively working for the sake of the progress and the well-being of the entire Indonesian people. Presently, we are at an important time in Indonesia's development. The first months in implementing our Fifth 5-Year development Plan are passing which we consider to be the concluding stage of the first long-term, 25-year, period of development. At the end of the 5-year plan we firmly intend to enter into the stage of economic take-off in our development, that is boosting it to a level where we, banking on our own forces, will be able to continue the process of development in the direction of the society that we are dreaming of building.

Over the two decades of development we have been able to achieve sound progress. The national income has grown manifold. We have managed to become self-sufficient in rice, and our industry has started to develop. Revenues at home are continuing to grow which is evidence of our resolve to develop, drawing on our own forces. The volume of exports of goods in the non-oil-and-gas sector has risen drastically. The evening out of levels of development is embracing increasingly extensive areas of the country. Thanks to the policy of deregulation and debureaucratization of the economy which we are pursuing and will continue, the striving is growing in society to take a creative part in the process of economic development. The infrastructure is expanding in the sphere of social security, including such fields as education, the health service, housing construction, and so forth.

At the same time we also realize how complex the social and economic problems are that we still have to come up against, especially the problem of the employment of the able-bodied population.

We are fully determined to build a society according to our own model. We call it a society of justice and prosperity founded on the principles of Pancasila, which are our philosophy of the world, our national ideology, and the buttresses of our state laid down by the founders of the Republic of Indonesia right back in 1945, when we freed ourselves from the fetters of colonialism as a result of revolution and war for independence.

Pancasila is the integral unity of the five vital values gleaned by us from our own history and culture, values which we consider to be the great ones: they are belief in a single God; a just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; democracy guided by a rational policy of consultation and representation; and the implementation of social justice for the whole of the Indonesian people.

As our philosophy it is Pancasila which is the guide for us both in evaluating and solving our internal issues and in evaluating and participating in the solution of world problems. Taking this philosophy as a basis, we develop in ourselves feelings of fraternal friendship and patience both within the country and in relation to other peoples.

As a sovereign state we realize that the whole burden of development lies, in the last resort, on our own shoulders.

And although our experience shows that we consider it possible and useful to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with other countries, we are always true to the goals and path which we ourselves choose.

In the framework of such cooperation in my view possibilities are opening up for the development of economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation between our two countries and peoples.

I see that the process of renewal which is taking place in the Soviet Union and the new impulse in development of Indonesia are widening possibilities for a further increase in cooperation between us in the future. A mere 2 weeks ago, accompanied by approximately 50 Indonesian entrepreneurs, the junior minister of trade of the Republic of Indonesia visited your country in order to discuss together with Soviet colleagues ways for more concrete cooperation in the area of trade and the economy. During my present visit important documents on cooperation in the areas in question will be signed.

Mr President!

I attach even greater significance to this visit to the Soviet Union in a situation in which fresh challenges are appearing as well as fresh opportunities both in our bilateral relations and in world development. Each of our countries, as sovereign states, will bear its responsibility for the solution of the problems facing them, both internal problems and international ones.

Nevertheless, I derived enormous benefit from the exchange of opinions which you and I had face to face

this afternoon, both on bilateral relations and on international issues. I have come to the conclusion that the frank exchange of opinions which took place between us during my current visit will contribute to the deepening of mutual understanding, the consolidation of friendship, and th e raising of the level of cooperation between our countries and peoples in the name of progress, and the well-being of our two countries in particular and of the world as a whole. I should particularly like to express my high evaluation of the role of the Soviet Union under your leadership, Mr President, in its efforts to preserve peace throughout the world, which is in line with the aspirations of all people.

In conclusion I am happy to propose to all present that they join in a toast to the health and happiness of His Excellency the President of the USSR and of Mrs Raisa Gorbachev, to the progress and prosperity of the people of the Soviet Union, and to friendship between the Soviet Union and Indonesia.

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The speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and Suharto were greeted with applause. The dinner passed in a friendly atmosphere.

## Yazov Receives Indonesian General Sutrisno

*LD1209130789 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"Such contacts doubtlessly contribute to the improvement of Soviet-Indonesian relations in the military sphere", General Try Sutrisno said in a TASS interview at the end of his stay in the Soviet Union. He came here with President Suharto, who is currently on a state visit in the Soviet Union.

The value of such contacts was confirmed also by the Soviet Defence Minister Army General Yazov who had a meeting with Try Sutrisno today. "The last meeting between top Soviet and Indonesian military leaders took place in 1963", the Soviet defence minister stressed. "And throughout the following period there were cold breezes of mistrust in our relations", he added. It is the opinion of General Yazov that talks and contacts between military leaders of the USSR and Indonesia will allow the two sides to get a better idea of the military policies pursued by them, to exchange views, with benefit for both sides, on questions of building up their armed forces.

According to the guest, he felt the cordiality and goodwill of Soviet people from the very first minutes of his stay in the USSR. "This holds true of Central-Asian Tashkent, Northern Leningrad and the country's capital—Moscow. Such meetings are unforgettable", the general added. The guest believes it was exceedingly useful for him to get a glimpse of life and combat training of Soviet servicemen.

Later in the day General Sutrisno called at the oldest military educational establishment of the Soviet armed forces—The Moscow Higher General Military Command School named after the USSR Supreme Soviet. He acquainted himself with the organisation of tuition, appraised highly the school's equipment and training facilities.

## Singapore Offer To Host U.S. Facilities Noted

*OW0809224989 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Commentary by station observer on military affairs Vinogradov]

[Text] Well-known U.S. Congressman Solarz, who is visiting Indonesia, regards Singapore's offer to host U.S. military bases on its own territory as something conducive to independence and freedom in Southeast Asia. Our station observer on military issues Vinogradov wrote as follows in this connection:

The remarks of U.S. Congressman Solarz are noteworthy. We must understand why Singapore made such an offer. On the surface, it seeks to help the Philippines by sharing some of its burdens. There are now two large military bases on the Philippines—the Subic Bay Naval Base and the Clark Air Force Base, as well as some small military facilities. The congressman's statements have shown clearly the true U.S. intention of seeking only to increase the number of military facilities in the Asia-Pacific region. From the point of view of Pentagon strategists, the U.S. bases in the Asia-Pacific region represent the second largest military stronghold next to Western Europe. A total of 200,000 U.S. officers and men equipped with the most modern military hardware are stationed in that region.

The region also is home to large U.S. military bases where nuclear weapons are stored. U.S. troops are not only stationed on Micronesia and the Hawaiian Islands, but also on Guam and various islands far from Asian coasts.

In addition to the military facilities in the Philippines, the United States also has around 120 military installations in Japan, including naval, air force, and Marines military bases. The Pentagon has another 40 military installations located in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula. Everyone is aware that the Asia-Pacific region is full of U.S. military bases. Despite all this, however, as Solarz has indicated, the United States is not satisfied with what it already has. Therefore, the Pentagon is interested particularly in Singapore's proposal. With tension and military confrontation in that region relaxing each passing day, however, the U.S. intention certainly goes against the trend of the times.

### Burma's Khin Nyunt's News Conference Viewed

*BK1209132989 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Western embassies, Western news agencies, and representatives of some opposition parties in Yangon are carrying out antigovernment subversive activities, declared a spokesman of the military government in Myanmar. Brigadier General Khin Nyunt, head of Defense Services Intelligence, made this declaration immediately following an announcement by the U.S. Embassy in Yangon that it has concrete evidence of political prisoners being tortured in Myanmar. THE NEW YORK TIMES said that U.S. diplomats have obtained the facts from a person who had experienced the torture. No details were given to substantiate the point.

Brig Gen Khin Nyunt, however, had more specific points in his allegations against the Western embassies. He pointed out facts about U Ye Tun, a lawyer and son-in-law of Dr Ba Maw, the head of state of Myanmar under Japanese occupation. U Ye Tun was a representative for six foreign companies and had extensive contacts with foreigners visiting and working in Myanmar.

Brig Gen Khin Nyunt said that according to the secret documents seized from the office of U Ye Tun, some Western embassies were directly funding those who oppose the military government. Moreover, the papers indicated that there were plans to assassinate the members of the present government. In addition, it was explained that U Ye Tun helped arranged financial support from foreigners for the antigovernment forces at the Myanmar-Thai border. Brig Gen Khin Nyunt said the lawyer, who is now under arrest, sent fabricated reports on Myanmar to the VOA and the BBC.

Western news agencies continue to propagandize that the military government in Myanmar is continuing its violation of human rights. Whether the assertion is right or wrong, it is obvious that such reports can only lead to instability in Myanmar. It is obvious that the news being broadcast by some Western radio stations about the oppression in Myanmar and the failure of economic reforms undertaken by the State Law and Order Restoration Council only aggravates the people's ill-feelings toward the government and deepens the antagonism between the government and the opposition.

Everybody understands that there is no easy solution to the political and economic problems in Myanmar. However, adopting an attitude of "what is bad for them is good for us" will not help realize the democratic goals of the Myanmar people. Last year, the military had to resort to force because of the mass demonstrations and protests that led to violent civil unrest and economic hardships. Perhaps some elements want to reenact similar unfortunate events or perhaps they still do not clearly see that confrontational methods will not resolve the problems in Myanmar.

Our station observer notes that Brig Gen Khin Nyunt, while saying that the recent deeds of some foreign embassies are tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of Myanmar, expressed the belief that these embassies will avoid acting against diplomatic norms in the future.

## Near East & South Asia

### Recent Developments in Afghanistan Reported

*PM1209091789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 First Edition p 5*

[TASS reports from Kabul, Islamabad, and Washington under general heading "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 6 Sep—Subunits of the Jalalabad garrison carried out an operation during the last 24 hours to flush out armed rebel formations from Kuz Konar district.

The BAKHTAR agency reports that a prominent Afghan religious figure Kari Shams al-Din, a representative of the Supreme Ulema and Clergy Council of Afghanistan has perished in Samangan Province. He was killed in a "surface to surface" missile explosion while delivering a sermon.

Islamabad, 6 Sep—According to the newspaper THE MUSLIM, hostilities have flared up again between detachments of B. Rabbani's "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA) and G. Hekmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) in Badakhshan Province. As a result of an ISA attack on IPA positions near the Zebak population center around 100 rebels belonging to the Islamic Party have been killed. During the past 2 months as a result of internecine clashes, deaths alone have cost the ISA and the IPA losses of 400 people.

According to the newspaper, the United States has resumed arms deliveries to the Afghan armed opposition. The extremists are demanding tanks and fighter aircraft from their transatlantic patrons.

Washington, 6 Sep—Replying to journalists' questions as to whether U.S. policy in respect of arms deliveries to the Afghan opposition has changed, Margaret Tutweiler, official State Department spokesman, said: "We do not discuss our policy concerning arms deliveries to Afghan resistance groups." The United States, she added, "continues to firmly support the resistance."

## East Europe

### TASS Statement Supports GDR in FRG 'Campaign'

*LD1109190689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—A TASS statement has been issued here which says:

Of late, certain members of the FRG mass media and certain political circles of that state have been conducting a tendentious campaign against the GDR, the incidents of illegal departure for abroad of GDR citizens being taken as a pretext for this.

A number of organs of the press, television, and radio in the FRG are inciting GDR inhabitants to commit illegal acts, while official missions of the Federal Republic abroad, in violation of the generally accepted norms of international law, are taking these people under their wing and furnishing them with West German documents. All this is accompanied by a manifest increase in the activity of those chauvinistically minded circles in the FRG which earlier did not accept the political and territorial realities existing in Europe and still have not parted from the absurd idea of "absorbing" the GDR. Individual West German politicians and journalists are going so far as to make statements about the overthrow of the post-war structure as a practical political task.

This sort of propaganda build-up surrounding the GDR and attempts to interfere in its internal affairs are incompatible with the organizing of fruitful all-European cooperation, forward development of the Helsinki process, with the strengthening of confidence between East and West altogether. It would seem that in Bonn, they should assess such manifestations with all seriousness and sense of responsibility.

For 4 decades the GDR has occupied a worthy place in the family of European peoples. By its very existence and active policy aimed at agreement between peoples, it has to no small extent promoted and is promoting the ensurance of peace, security, and good-neighborliness in Europe, and its stability. The GDR is an inalienable link in the Warsaw Pact, our true friend and ally. This should be clear to all who would try to encroach on the sovereignty of the GDR and its independence.

### GDR, Hungary Reportedly in 'Difficult Knot'

*LD1109193289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Hungarian agency MTI has today circulated an announcement of the decision of the Hungarian Government to allow citizens of the German Democratic Republic to leave the country. The Hungarian Government has decided to suspend temporarily the operation of the relevant points of the governmental agreement between Hungary and the GDR in 1969, and allow GDR citizens who are in Hungary and do not wish to return home to go to any country willing to admit and receive them. This instruction by the Hungarian Government came into force at 0000 today.

Let me remind you of the gist of the matter. In recent weeks the Hungarian Government has been constantly occupying itself with issues connected with the situation of GDR citizens in Hungary who wish to go to West Germany. Consultations were held on the subject with the appropriate organs in the FRG. Talks were also held between the GDR and the FRG on this question, but they produced no results. Meanwhile, the number of GDR citizens wishing to leave their homeland and go to live in the FRG continued to increase and accumulate on the territory of Hungary. And as a consequence of this, the situation on the Austro-Hungarian border became tense, with a growing number of cases of illegal crossing and various crimes. It was in this situation that the Hungarian Government was forced to take the decision mentioned above. Also today came a report from ADN in Berlin, in which this step by the Hungarian Government is described as direct interference in the internal affairs of the GDR. The ADN report stresses that the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic, in violation of agreements and accords, allowed himself to be persuaded to support an action which had been prepared in good time in West Germany. Well, as you realize, it's too soon to regard the matter as closed: Reports on the development of events will, of course, continue to come in from Hungary and Berlin. Thus one more difficult knot has been tied in the socialist community, which is already sufficiently burdened with problems. [video shows people in cars and with rucksacks being allowed to cross border]

### Ligachev Arrives on Working Visit to Berlin

*LD1209103489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0858 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Berlin, 12 Sep (TAS)—Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in the GDR capital on a working visit at the invitation of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee.

He was met at Berlin Schoenefeld airport by V. Krolinkowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and other officials. V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR was among the welcoming party.

### Yazov Meets SFRY Defense Secretary Kadijevic

*LD1209025189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense,

arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

In the course of the meeting held on the same day between the USSR defense minister and Col Gen Veljko Kadijevic, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

After the meeting, Col Gen Kadijevic stated to a TASS correspondent that the current visit will become another good confirmation of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship that is being strengthened and will promote the further development and strengthening of all-round cooperation between the peoples and the armies of the USSR and SFRY.

On the same day, the guest from Yugoslavia laid wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

In the evening, the USSR defense minister gave a dinner in honor of the SFRY federal secretary.

### Paper Welcomes Kadijevic Visit

*PM1009160589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "For Visit to Soviet Union"]

[Excerpts] Colonel General V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense, arrives in Moscow on an official visit tomorrow at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. [passage omitted]

Servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces welcome Colonel General V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense, and voice confidence that this visit will promote the further development and strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation between the peoples and Armies of the Soviet Union and the SFRY.

## Political & Social

### Investigation Clears Ligachev of Bribery Charge

*LD1109214189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1558 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—On 15 may this year, Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, made a statement to the USSR Procuracy, as was reported in the press, in connection with the address of N.V. Ivanov, Procuracy investigator, who stated that the names of Politburo members had appeared in a criminal case on officials of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] taking bribes. Ye.K. Ligachev was named. He evaluated this as slander and provocation and asked for an investigation and for the results to be published in the press. In this connection, V.I. Kravets, deputy procurator general of the USSR, informed a TASS correspondent that a thorough check had been carried out into Ye.K. Ligachev's statement and also into the public affirmations of the investigators N.V. Ivanov and T.Kh. Gdlyan.

As you know, he recalled, the USSR procurator general, answering such questions back at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, explained that during an investigation of a criminal case on the criminal activities of Uzbek officials, Ye.K. Ligachev was named in the testimony of one of the accused arrestees, among other persons with whom he allegedly had a criminal connection. Subsequently, the accused renounced testimony he had given earlier. He said that he had slandered the named CPSU Central Committee secretary and many other officials and explained that he had done so under the influence of the investigators and the threat of arrest of his relatives. Today the investigation of this criminal case has been completed; the decision provided for by the law has been made; and I consider myself to have the right to give a more detailed answer.

In the first place, the accused is I. Usmankhodzhayev, the former first secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, arrested on 19 October 1988 in Moscow by the USSR Procuracy for taking bribes. Usmankhodzhayev from the beginning gave inconsistent and, at times, contradictory evidence during numerous interrogations. Subsequently and, to be more precise, as early as 1 November 1988, Usmankhodzhayev repudiated a whole number of his original statements and evidence. In particular, he pointed out: "...I wrote the statement that I had been giving money to Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. This did not take place. I wrote it by mistake, I am sorry..."

Despite this, the USSR Procuracy thoroughly checked the accused Usmankhodzhayev's allegations and arguments and all the materials at hand in the criminal case. In connection with Ye.K. Ligachev's statement, forwarded to the Procuracy, we questioned him, along with the persons who made a trip with him to Uzbekistan in the summer of 1984 to take part in the work of the 16th Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which examined measures to improve the situation in the republic, to strengthen the party and state discipline, and eradicate corruption, taking bribes, and abuses which is when the bribe is alleged to have been made. The persons who work directly with Comrade Ligachev in Moscow were also questioned.

We have come to a firm conclusion that the original statements and evidence by Usmankhodzhayev concerning the bribe to Ye.K. Ligachev constitute a concoction, an attempt to slander, and are not confirmed objectively by any evidence.

Usmankhodzhayev himself, while speaking about the reasons that prompted him to give deliberately false evidence, stated during the May 1989 interrogation that last October the investigator T.Kh. Gdlyan set him a specific task: to give evidence that a bribe had been handed over to the CPSU Central Committee staff and those employed in the law and order protection bodies.

Further on he explained, in particular: "...I know Ligachev as a Central Committee secretary. I have not given him any money. His name cropped up during the questioning. Subsequently I repudiated this. Gdlyan asked leading questions concerning the 16th plenum. He put this thought into my head, saying that I sent something Ligachev's way. I thought it was necessary to do it this way and did a stupid thing." [passage indistinct]

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 11 September broadcasts a report on the Ligachev allegations and provides the following additional information:

"Second, the heads of the investigation section and of the USSR Procuracy proposed that Gdlyan and Ivanov should hand over all the materials in their possession connected with the aforementioned bribery case. These demands, arising from the necessity to investigate the case in accordance with the law, were made several times. But they presented no such materials. And Comrade Gdlyan, who headed the investigative group, when invited for a conversation on this subject, declared that they did not have any documents connected with the case under investigation, and he had nothing to hand over.

"As is known, they have furnished no proof to either the Congress of People's Deputies nor to the special commission set up by it."]

They are absent, as I have already said, from the evidence of the criminal case that they investigated, too. And any investigator knows that every piece of evidence and other materials should be in the file. This is what the law requests and nobody has a right to break it.

Taking into account the results of the investigation that was carried out, we recently passed a resolution to end the criminal case based on I. Usmankhodzhayev's statement that he gave a bribe to Ye.K. Ligachev for lack of corpus delicti. The USSR Procuracy is forwarding this

resolution to the commission formed by the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies. In accordance with the instructions from the May 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, relevant documents are to be submitted to the CPSU Central Committee.

As to the criminal case against I. Usmankhodzhayev, the investigation continues.

TASS correspondent: But investigators T.Kh. Gdlyan and N.V. Ivanov have until now been mentioning in their speeches the names of Ligachev and other leaders.

Deputy procurator general: Yes, we know about that. Having made their "sensational" statements as long ago as during the election campaign, T.Kh. Gdlyan and N.V. Ivanov, it seems, simply cannot—and do not want to—stop, supporting with their numerous speeches the unfounded charges they addressed to well-known people and turning this issue into a means for achieving their far-reaching political and careerist ends.

Violating the rules of investigative ethics, rejecting the presumption of innocence as a founding principle of Soviet criminal procedure, uncovering absolutely no evidence, not bringing an indictment or completing the investigation—I would not even mention a court decision—to cast even a shadow of suspicion publicly on any citizen—can there by anything more dangerous for legality and a law-governed state, which we are beginning to build? Such behavior is unworthy of lawyers and has nothing in common with true concern for strengthening legality and order.

## International Legal Mechanism Against Drugs Urged

*LD1209111989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Vienna 12 Sep (TASS)—The increased scale of the activities of the drugs mafia urgently requires the international community to combine efforts in the struggle against the spread of drug addiction—a most dangerous social phenomenon, which in recent years has turned into a serious problem for many states. This thought is apparent in the speeches of those taking part in the second interregional conference of the heads of national institutions ensuring compliance with drug laws which is taking place here.

As I.F. Shilov, head of the Soviet delegation and deputy minister of internal affairs, said in his speech, the Soviet Union is following with alarm the events in Colombia, where organized crime is infringing on political power in society. We consider that this is not only the problem of the Colombian or U.S. peoples. There are fears that the Colombian conflict might develop into a regional conflict—the first regional conflict in history to be provoked by the organized drugs mafia.

In this context the USSR supports the idea of creating an international legal mechanism for combating the narcotics business, particularly the proposal by Trinidad and Tobago that the 44th session of the UN General Assembly examine the issue of international accountability of individuals and formations which participate in narcotics contraband across national frontiers, and the establishment of an international criminal court with jurisdiction over such crimes.

The USSR is in favor of effective and businesslike cooperation between states at both multilateral and bilateral levels. Intergovernmental agreements have recently been signed with Great Britain, the United States, and the FRG, on cooperation in the fight against the illegal traffic in drugs. Soviet customs bodies, in conjunction with the corresponding services of Great Britain and Canada, have conducted successful operations which have made it possible to neutralize dangerous international criminal groups of drugs traders and to take significant amounts of narcotic substances out of circulation.

The entry into force of a new convention "on the fight against the traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances" will strengthen the existing system of international treaties on narcotics control, and will substantially increase its effectiveness. Work to prepare for its ratification is being conducted in the Soviet Union, which has already signed the convention.

At present, the Soviet representative noted, we are seriously concerned about the state of crime and the effectiveness of the fight against it, including the problem of illegal narcotics traffic. Last year crime as a whole rose by almost 4 percent as compared with 1987. About 2 million crimes were registered, 1.5 percent of that number being crimes connected with narcotics. According to the available date, more than 120,000 people use narcotics in the country today.

Measures are being taken in the country to improve control over the proliferation of narcotics. A decision has been taken to halt the sowing of oil-bearing poppy, and efforts are being made to eliminate the raw-material base for the illegal production of narcotics. In 1986-89, 8,000 illegal crops of opium poppy and hemp were discovered and over 200,000 hectares of plants growing wild were destroyed.

Strict criminal accountability, in the form of deprivation of freedom for up to 15 years with confiscation of property, has been established for the drug business dealers. A law adopted in 1987 authorizes the broad application of measures of social, administrative, and medical influence on those suffering from drug addition. Persons who voluntarily hand in narcotic substances are freed from accountability.

Favoring the further development of activity to prevent and combat the illegal traffic in drugs and of international cooperation, the Soviet Union gives a high appraisal of the role of the UN "narcotics" bodies, and stresses the need to strengthen them organizationally and financially. In particular, it has already been announced that our country will cooperate with the UN Fund and

Drug Abuse Control, cooperation which it is planned to increase in the future, the head of the Soviet delegation said.

### Interregional Deputy Predicts Further Labor Unrest

*AU1209104889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8-10 Sep 89 p 6*

[Interview with Moscow University Professor Gavril Popov, deputy chairman of the Interregional Group of Deputies, by Leon Bojko: "Time Is Running Out for Us"—date and pace not given]

[Text] Professor Gavril Popov from Moscow University is one of the best known Soviet economists and political activists. During the Congress of People's Deputies, which took place at the end of May and the beginning of June 1989, he proposed the creation of a parliamentary faction group that would be composed of all radical proponents of democratic reforms in the Soviet Union. His suggestions met with a sharp reaction from the conservative-minded majority of deputies, and was criticized by Gorbachev. Such a group was nevertheless duly formed during the 29-30 May session in Moscow and named the Interregional Group of Deputies. Professor Popov became one of its five deputy chairmen.

[Question] From the discussions on economic questions taking place in Poland I get the impression that even the formulation of an economic reform program poses a problem. What have you to say about it as an economist? I understand that this is a theme which deserves separate treatment, but during the Congress of the People's Deputies, Professor Smelov and yourself, put forward what many considered as an alternative plan to the program proposed by Premier Ryzhkov.

[Popov] Why do you say "considered as an alternative"? It was a real alternative to Ryzhkov's program, and we did not try to hide the fact. The mere formulation of an alternative economic plan poses no great problems. The real problem is that time is running out for us. Every 3 or 4 months that go by complicate the situation to such an extent that what seemed realistic and sufficient not so very long ago is today hopelessly insufficient.

[Question] We also had this feeling in Poland, namely, that the authorities were always too late with their decisions.

[Popov] This probably proves the general rule about the behavior of anybody in authority when in a crisis situation. Recently, I analyzed the history of the French Revolution and there the situation was changing completely every 2 weeks.

[Question] And even faster during the Russian revolution....

[Popov] Absolutely, the whole state system fell apart in one month.

[Question] Will the wave of strikes in July hasten the tempo of your change?

[Popov] I find it astounding that the workers left it so late to use this weapon. They had enough reasons to do so earlier. Given the level of insensitivity to the workers' needs and the lack of respect for them and their needs, those strikes should have erupted much earlier. I believe that the Congress of People's Deputies played an important role here. We did not achieve any palpable successes at the congress. The people realized that they could not expect anything from people we tried to convince. Society realized—and this is very positive—that it had to start defending its own interests, or nothing would come of it. In my opinion it is a sign of the tendency—a tendency that is becoming general—to solve one's own problems with one's own strength.

[Question] The strikes and the behavior of the miners were very reminiscent of the strikes that occurred in Poland in August 1980.

[Popov] Yes! I also watched those events and the emergence of "Solidarity" and I see distinct analogies.

[Question] Perhaps your miners based themselves on the Polish experiences?

[Popov] I doubt whether they took the example from Poland. Soviet workers simply do not know about those events. They get their information from our propaganda and you know what that was like in 1980-81. I think such events arise from the general rules applicable to social processes, and the two situations are very similar. Heavy industry does not give its workers any alternatives. Light industry gives at least some room to maneuver. For example, one can change production, meet new market conditions, try different forms of ownership, for example, leasing. What can a worker who is employed in heavy industry do? If he mines coal, builds ships and tractors, or smelts iron, he has very little choice. In similar situations elsewhere people will act similarly.

[Question] In line with your forecasts the strikes spread through the whole of the coal industry. Now they are history and the whole of that industry is quiet. What next?

[Popov] It is a deceptive lull, and there are other spheres of the labor market that are waiting for their particular problems to be solved. Problems have been put off for "another day", but this cannot last long.

[Question] What importance do you attach to the changes taking place in Poland?

[Popov] We all see them in a very positive light. Well, perhaps not all people—everyone should speak only for themselves. But even in conservative circles the changes in Poland are being seen as a sign of hope. You see, we have various kinds of conservatives. Some are prepared to accept alternative solutions, but they do not believe in the reality or the possibility of other variants. That is

why everyone is particularly interested in the Polish changes. We in the Interregional Group of Deputies wish you success.

[Question] Thank you, and good luck to you.

### Azerbaijani Leaders Continue Dialogue With Front

*PM1109160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov report: "Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] Baku, 10 Sep—Talks have been going on since this morning between the republic's leadership and representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front [NFA].

Yesterday at a rally of more than 500,000 people in the V.I. Lenin central square V. Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, told the crowd about the adoption of a republic Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on holding an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet 15 September with an agenda close to that insisted on by the NFA. The session will examine the republic's Council of Ministers report on the implementation of the socioeconomic program and the position in Nagorno-Karabakh and the draft legislative enactments on the republic's sovereignty, citizenship, and the transition to economic autonomy and economic accountability. Members of the NFA Board were invited to the session. V. Polyanichko noted that the question of official recognition for the NFA organization, which is one of the strikers' main demands, will also be discussed.

By 2100 the talks between the NFA leaders and the republic's leaders had not yet produced any constructive results. The dialogue continues.

### Further on Suspension of Week-Long Baku Strike

*LD1109183589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Baku, 11 Sep (TASS)—The strike which has kept the multinational population of the Soviet Transcaucasian republic of Azerbaijan in extreme tension for a week has been suspended.

Following talks with the republican leadership, the leaders of the People's Front of Azerbaijan (PFA)—the instigator of the strike—called on all strike committees to suspend the strike until the completion of the work of the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet convened for 15 September, which is expected to adopt important decisions determining the path of development of the republic in the long term. The meeting of the republican leadership and the leaders of the PFA was relayed live on local television late Sunday evening.

The televised meeting was preceded by preliminary talks, which examined ways of bringing the standpoints closer together and devised a mechanism for mutually agreed upon actions. There were no differences on the majority of issues; these lie only in the ways and means of attaining the aims. Representatives of the PFA and other public organizations have been invited to take part in the session, which will be broadcast on republican television.

According to preliminary estimates, losses at the numerous enterprises and on transport resulting from the strike exceeded R150 million by the end of last week.

From this morning Baku has been living in its accustomed business rhythm. Buses and trolleybuses came out onto their routes and all industrial and commercial enterprises are operating. Freight trains are passing through Baladzhary railway station, a major staging post in the Transcaucasus.

The address which Mikhail Gorbachev made on USSR central television on 9 September has aroused a broad public response in Azerbaijan. The realistic and considered appraisal by the Soviet leader of the situation in the country and of the far from simple processes of restructuring has been suitably appreciated in the republic.

"The problems which are arising have to be dealt with by other methods, in timely fashion, so that they do not increase and become unhealthy. We are all glad that the leadership of the republic and the People's Front of Azerbaijan have finally found ways toward a constructive dialogue," Nazim Guseynov, an engineer at Azerbaijan Power Association, told a TASS correspondent.

"The times call for all healthy forces to get together for the sake of implementing the ideas of perestroyka. Azerbaijan has been and remains true to the principles of internationalism. An emphatic rebuff will be given to those who take extremist positions, positions of national irreconcilability, and strive to bring discord and disorder into our lives," said Musa Kuliyev, the famous historian.

### 'Work Rhythm' Reportedly 'Restored'

*NC1209125189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers inform their readers that normal work in the railway network, [word indistinct] industrial establishments, and all areas of social life in general has been resumed. The report is published in the newspapers under the heading: the work rhythm is being restored.

It has become clear from the information given by the newspapers that a businesslike atmosphere has been created in the railways network in particular. Railway cars are being dispatched to various industrial centers in the country. It is apparent from the reports that have been received from the [word indistinct] mechanical engineering factory, the Kirov mechanical engineering

factory, and other establishments that the work collectives have resumed work with a determined approach to remove the (?effects) of the strike.

### Situation Stabilizes in Nakhichevan

*NC1109074589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST correspondent Prir Mamedov reports that the situation in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has stabilized after the tension resulting from the fabricated problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The uncontrolled activities of nationalist extremists in towns bordering Armenia, residential areas, and [word indistinct] have been interrupted. The movement of buses on the (?Il'ich)-Kasumov highway has resumed.

### Efforts Under Way To Normalize Azerbaijan Railways

*LD1109215289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Report by correspondent M. Mamedov from Azerbaijan on 11 Sep—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first trains carrying freight for the national economy, which set off today along the main lines of Azerbaijan, were convincing proof of the end of the week-long strike in the republic. This became possible thanks to a dialogue which took place between the Azerbaijani leaders and representatives of the republican Popular Front. The need was pointed out at this difficult time to consolidate all forces coming out in favour of perestroyka. Over the past week over R150 million have been lost in the republic. A particularly difficult situation has developed on rail transport where tens of thousands of wagons have piled up. Railwaymen will have to display a high degree of awareness and skill in order to eliminate the crisis situation in as short a time as possible. After all, the profitability of industrial enterprises, building sites, and the republic's agricultural regions depends on the precise work of the mainline railways.

[V.M. Ismailov, CPSU committee secretary of the Azerbaijani Rail Directorate] A headquarters has been set up, whose tasks are to eliminate as quickly as possible the aftermath of the strike. A large burden falls on the locomotive teams who have stated their desire to work overtime, and, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, we shall live tomorrow as we work today.

The tasks facing the Azerbaijani railmen are complex but they are fully possible to be carried out. What we performed previously in the course of hours is now being performed in half the time. And I think that the Azerbaijani railmen will cope with this task in full measure, and in the next 5-6 days we shall be working normally again. [video shows trains carrying freight along line; people working at VDU screens; cars and other freight on wagons; Ismailov speaking in office]

### Azerbaijani Train Traffic Resumes

*LD1109193389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] From Baku: Following a week-long strike, train traffic resumed today along the Azerbaijani railway. Trainloads were dispatched to various towns of the republic and also to the western junction of the trunk line, linking the Azerbaijani and Transcaucasian railways. Ten trainloads were handed over. They carried various cargo for the national economy of Georgia. Traffic also began along the southern section of the trunk line, where the first goods trains to Iran and passenger trains to Nakhichevan were let through. Work got underway to ferry petroleum products away and to supply empty wagons to industrial enterprises, as well as to make wagons available to transport construction materials. At the same time, two-way traffic is continuing with the Severo-Kavkazsskaya railway where over the past week tens of thousands of wagons with produce for industrial enterprises, construction sites, and rural facilities of the Transcaucasus republics have created a bottleneck.

### NKAO Aid Committee Established

*NC0109194989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The founding conference of the Nagorno-Karabakh Aid Committee has taken place in the meeting hall of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences. The tense situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in rayons bordering Armenia was once again debated by the conference, which was attended by 384 delegates, USSR people's deputies, renowned intellectuals from Azerbaijan, and members of the aid committee who were invited from the cities and Rayons.

The conference elected members of the executive board and the chairmanship council of the NKAO Aid Committee. The conference's resolution and the committee's program and rules wee approved.

KOMMUNIST published detailed information on the conference on page 3 today.

### Azerbaijan's Mutalibov on NKAO Decision

*NC1109203789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[From the Republican Press Review; AZERINFORM Interview, "The Rumors Are Unfounded," with Ayaz Mutalibov, Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium; date not given, read by announcer]

[Text] The unregistered and informal organization known as the Popular Front of Azerbaijan claimed

during the unauthorized meeting in Baku last Saturday that on 22 May 1989, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers approved the decision adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers on 6 May 1989 to transfer the responsibility for resolving all social and economic problems of Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The USSR Council of Ministers decision No 384, dated 6 May 1989, which concerns managing the NKAO economy during the term of office of the special administration, is in my hands. I am writing this after carefully studying it.

The rather free explanation of the document that was made in the square has nothing to do with the true state of affairs. What was the reason for adopting this decision? An AZERINFORM correspondent asked Ayaz Mutalibov, Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium. Mutalibov asserted the following:

It was a document fully compatible with the law. It was necessary to determine the way the NKAO's economy should be managed after the decree the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted on 12 January on introducing a special administration system in Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO region. A short time after the decree was passed, the USSR Council of Ministers established a (?government) commission in order to study the principles of the system that would be put into effect to manage the NKAO economy under the conditions of special administration. The USSR Council of Ministers' instructions were conveyed to us. We then began to study the variants of this system. The main principle we proposed was that NKAO is an inseparable part of Azerbaijan. In view of this, all forms of management in the NKAO should be realized within the framework of this concept.

We conveyed our proposals to the government commission. Some suggestions made during the detailed discussions were so principled that they were included in the decision that was adopted. I believe that the main thing is that we defended and maintained our main positions on the question of managing the NKAO's economy. Within the framework of economic reforms, we gave independence to NKAO's establishments and organizations similar to the independence enjoyed by any one of the country's establishments or organizations.

In view of the fact that [words indistinct] is impossible, I can only use part of the decision as an example: The USSR State Planning Committee should consider the very important indexes of NKAO's economic and social development within Azerbaijan SSR's development plan as a separate part of the Moscow Oblast section of the draft state plan for USSR's economic and social development. When the draft is approved, it should convey the indexes referred to to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and to NKAO's special administration committee. The relevant indexes of NKAO's budget, which is within the framework of the Azerbaijan SSR state budget, should be separately considered by the USSR finance minister.

Similar (?references) are found in the other provisions of the decision. The decision itself shows in detail all the aspects of economic activity under the conditions of special administration. Furthermore, the question of being subject to Azerbaijan SSR and the [words indistinct].

Our decision was adopted on the basis of the USSR Council of Ministers' decision, and this decision is in complete harmony with the spirit and contents of the alliance's decision.

It must be pointed out that as soon as the NKAO special administration committee assumed its responsibilities, it began to try to end the subordination to the republic of this or that establishment in NKAO with a view to affiliate the said establishments with the alliance organs. However, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government resisted this move. The alliance organs supported our objections. In view of this, the (?claims) that the RSFSR has been assigned the task of resolving all of NKAO's social and economic problems are completely unfounded.

I wish to point out in particular at this point that the claims that a presidential system will be put into effect in NKAO, claims which have also been made during the meeting that was held on 2 September, are completely false.

## Further on Armenian, Azerbaijani Party Meeting

*NC0709154689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] The results of the meeting between the members and candidate members of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus at the CPSU Central Committee were discussed at the republic's party aktiv meeting which took place yesterday in Yerevan.

A report on the meeting between the members and candidate members of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus was submitted by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The republic's party aktiv expressed serious concern over the exacerbation of the situation in the region. It also expressed its full understanding of the anxiety felt by the workers at this critical juncture, and pointed out that joint efforts as well as a search for (?wise methods) are necessary in order to improve the relations between the two republics.

The party aktiv stated that the solution of the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is the key to the improvement of the situation. It was emphasized that it is especially important to re-establish the emigrants' civic rights, house them, pay them (?cash) compensation,

safeguard the people's security, and (?reestablish) the uninterrupted operation of the rail and road transportation systems of the two republics in the Nagorno-Karabakh (?area).

A (?resolution was issued) on the topics discussed.

### Azerbaijan's Vezirov Urges Joint Effort

*NC1109184589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0600 GMT 6 Sep 89*

["Exclusive interview" with Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified AZERINFORM correspondent in Baku; date not given, read by announcer]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Vezirov, the situation in Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic has become complex and assumed serious proportions. Meetings and strikes are disrupting the work of the establishments and means of transport at the present time.

[Vezirov] Regrettably, this is true. Very significant material and moral damage is being inflicted on the republic. Economic relations with many of the country's regions have been disrupted. In the talks we have had with the other [word indistinct], we have observed that the main cause of the strikes is the uneasiness created by the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh [Autonomous Oblast—NKAO]. The situation of the Azerbaijani people in the NKAO has recently (?worsened).

The measures put into effect to normalize the situation in NKAO can be described as necessary measures which have been put into effect in various stages. However, the situation has changed. Many of these measures have not yielded results and are not contributing toward settling problems at the present time. We have never created a problem on the question of responsibility over NKAO's territory. It has been our land, that is, the land of our sovereign republic. It is the land of our republic, and it will continue to remain such. [Words indistinct] rejected the appropriation of NKAO in any way. Regrettably, the hopes vested in the special administration committee have not been categorically justified. There are many reasons for this. The active resistance of the extremist forces against the work carried out to normalize the situation is one of these reasons. The committee has been using the authority assigned to it on the basis of a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree (?ineffectively). The committee's work lacks consistency. (?Under the circumstances), the special administration system should have been put into effect not only at oblast level but also at rayon level as well. (?Many are benefiting from) the situation in which the local sovereignty organs remain outside the framework of the changes. The extremists have benefited from this situation. Interference in NKAO's affairs from the outside has not been terminated. Criminal charges have not been brought against any those who instigated interethnic discord. All this has had very negative effects on the situation of the two nationalities of the republic. The situation required operative measures. These measures are being put into effect.

The movement for assisting NKAO has been wholeheartedly supported, and guardian cities and rayons have been established. Measures have been put into effect to provide security for the people.

What was the reason for the meeting that was held by the bureau members of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Commitees in Moscow on 31 August? The meeting was held on the basis of an initiative by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau because of the very serious worsening in interethnic relations. We pointed to the dangerous situation. People have been killed. Bloodshed is continuing. We must put an end to the dangerous worsening of the incidents. We must do whatever we can in that regard.

Serious damage has been caused to the relations between our peoples. These relations can be normalized only through the cooperation and joint effort of the party, soviet, economic, and law enforcing organs and the scientific and cultural establishments of the two republics.

The meeting was of a principled level, that is, from the point of view of demonstrating the resolve to achieve progress through the removal of the objective and subjective reports which have created interethnic discord. The (?meeting was important from the point of view of confirming that) the important national problems must be resolved through a joint effort. A single hand's movement makes no sound.

Our people have a nice tradition [passage indistinct].

The past 20 months have proven that not a single important problem has been resolved in this way. I wish to note in particular at this point that noninterference in the internal affairs of each and every allied republic and adherence to the principle of respect toward the sovereign [word indistinct] of the (?republics) is very essential. (?What I mean is that) this [words indistinct].

We have clearly outlined our principled position on the question of improving relations between our peoples. The members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau tried in the past to turn the question of NKAO into a main problem. However, we resolutely rejected this effort. [passage indistinct]

### Armenian Supreme Soviet To Meet

*NC1209093389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published a decree by the Presidium of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet stipulating the convocation of the 10th extraordinary session of the 11th congress of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on (?18 September) in Yerevan.

The paper has also published the (?decision) of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the agenda for the extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet Presidium, basing itself on the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on (?1 August) to convene extraordinary sessions of the republican soviets of people's deputies, has decided to submit the following issues to the 10th extraordinary session of the 11th congress of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1. The report of the republic's Council of Ministers on the socio-economic development of Armenia and the stabilization of the situation;

2. Matters pertaining to the questions raised before the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the exacerbation of the situation in the region and the solution of the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast;

3. Matters pertaining to the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the resettlement of the refugees, and additional measures to bolster the work in this regard;

4. The appeal of the republic and of its Supreme Soviet to the USSR Supreme Soviet and Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet concerning the safeguarding of the security of the Armenian population [word indistinct].

### Procuracy Appeals on Security of Baku Armenians

*NC1209115189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] The collegium of the Procuracy of the Armenian Republic has made the following appeal to Comrade Sukharev, USSR procurator general:

The republic's procuracy has been receiving a large number of phone calls and appeals from concerned citizens which confirm the fact that there is a real threat to the lives of the Armenians in Baku and other cities and settlement areas of Azerbaijan. There is clear evidence of unconcealed persecution, prosecution, and threats of retribution. People are often deprived of the possibility of moving to safe areas.

In informing you of this, we insist on the adoption of urgent and effective measures for the protection of the [word indistinct], lives, and constitutional rights of the people.

### Over 3,000 Armenian Refugees in Moscow

*NC1109172889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Report by "Special Correspondent" in Moscow Karo Ghazyan]

[Excerpt] For the last ten months or so Moscow has also become a place of refuge for the thousands of Armenians from Azerbaijan. There are now over 3,000 of them here, and more are arriving daily. Despite that, the city officials have not even attempted to provide them with [word indistinct], schools, and jobs. The refugees are finding themselves in an unenviable situation: families are spending their nights in stations or temporary dwellings and their days constantly entreating officials. It is true that some of the refugees are receiving some assistance from the office of the permanent representative in Moscow of the Armenian Council of Ministers, yet [words indistinct] widespread complaint. Armenian intellectuals in Moscow, concerned with the fate of our compatriots, [passage indistinct] steps in this direction. A Committee for Assistance to Armenian Refugees from Azerbaijan has been set up here recently under the chairmanship of Karen Mikhaelyanov, responsible worker at the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, with whom I spoke soon after meeting with the refugees. [passage omitted]

### Azerbaijanis Accused of Blocking Aid

*NC1209111489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Unlike in the rest of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], in Stepanakert the new academic year began only today. The prolongation of the summer recess was not at all due to [passage indistinct]. Besides, how could activities have fully resumed when the oblast has until now been under blockade and when the natural right of each parent to see his children happy in their own homeland had become a metaphysical problem consigned to the depths of the constitution? However, the NKAO people cannot stand injustice and have no intention of (?being harmed). Work, lofty culture, cohesiveness, and will; these are (?the requirements) to attain the just aspiration. This was the train of thought running through the addresses of the public speakers in Stepanakert.

The NKAO National Council is dealing with the present and future concerns of Artsakh in these fateful days. It met last Saturday and discussed the CPSU draft platform concerning the nationalities policy under contemporary conditions and formulated measures to facilitate the successful harvesting of grapes in the collectives of the NKAO. They discussed ways to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the city residents. Serious debate developed during the discussion of the urgent agenda of the presidium of the National Council.

It is also a time of responsibility for the USSR people's deputies, who are continuing their contacts with their constituencies and listening to their suggestions. The most outstanding amongst these is the demand for the utmost efforts for a just political solution of the NKAO problem. Asmik Mikayelyan, secretary of the Stepanakert party political committee, told an ARMENPRES reporter that experience has shown that the Azerbaijan republic gives its own peculiar version of the socio-economic development of the oblast. The Azerbaijan

republic—to the structure of which the NKAO at present belongs—while providing comprehensive material and moral support, including the improvement and expansion of housing and the creation of additional workshops, for its nationals, has done nothing over the last 1 ½ years to alleviate the situation of the oblast's Armenian population. What is more, the Azerbaijan republic continues, in every possible way, to obstruct the flow of aid from Armenia [words indistinct] which are envisaged by the decisions of the USSR Government.

## Further on Ukrainian People's Movement Congress

### Writer Drach Elected Chairman

*PM1109151589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Own correspondents' dispatches under the general heading "Direct Link"]

[Text]

#### Constituent Congress

Sergey Tsikora reports from Kiev:
The constituent congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka, now known universally by the short word "Rukh," has ended in Kiev. A new organization has appeared in the republic's political system, setting itself the goal of uniting the public's efforts to resolve many specific tasks of perestroyka.

It should be noted right away that "Rukh" came to its constituent congress as an already considerable organization with divisions in all the republic's oblasts. And although, under its statutes, the movement does not, so to speak, count up its members, more than 1,100 delegates—including USSR people's deputies—came to Kiev to represent the opinion of primary organizations.

On what does the new sociopolitical organization in the republic intend to focus its attention and the efforts of its volunteer members?

Journalists were given the "Rukh" program, ratified by the congress, which essentially covers all aspects of life in the republic—specifically, the plans to transform the Ukrainian economy, the resolution of local ecological problems, and the rebirth of national culture. I would cite a few proposals from these sections of the program as an illustration. "Rukh" believes that in order to improve the republic's economy it should be switched to economic accountability and turned from the extraction and primary processing of raw materials to the path of boosting high-tech production designed to meet people's needs.

In resolving ecological problems "Rukh" considers it necessary to be guided by the principle of the priority of ecological demands over the demands of economic development. That is why the People's Movement of the Ukraine will strive to end construction of ecologically unsafe enterprises in densely populated areas. It is stressed that the republic's exclusive competence with regard to environmental matters should also extend to the territory on which the Armed Forces are deployed.

The section of the people's movement program devoted to cultural rebirth covers the problems of language, science, and culture. I quote: "'Rukh' upholds the right of the republic's native people to maintain on their ethnic territory their historic way of life, culture, language, and traditions [samobytnost], and advocates the development of the national cultures and languages of all nationalities inhabiting the Ukraine. Representatives of all national groups should have real opportunities to create cultural autonomous entities [avtonomii]. It is their right to open schools with their native language as the language of instruction, to set up partnerships and societies [tovarishchestva i zlmlyachestva], to have theaters and press publications, and to propagandize their people's spiritual values. 'Rukh' will strive for the real implementation of these rights."

Unfortunately, the congress discussion of certain issues in the republic's present-day life was considerably emotional, and this often detracted from the essence of proposals. A discordant note was struck by the speeches by certain representatives of people's fronts and organizations from other republics, who used the rostrum to put across their dubious experience of political struggle.

The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka Congress adopted the organization's statutes and program and elected its leading organs. The writer I. Drach became "Rukh" chairman.

#### Intelligentsia Forum

Sergey Bablumyan reports from Yerevan:
The Forum of the Intelligentsia of Armenia, which discussed problems linked with the sharp exacerbation in interethnic relations, has ended here. The prevailing situation was recognized to be critical and fraught with unpredictable consequences. Events have gotten to the point, the speeches stressed, when their further development in the same direction is impermissible. A consolidation of all healthy forces is needed.

The forum participants demanded the convening of an emergency session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet. It is proposed, in particular, that the agenda include the question of the need to adopt immediate measures to guarantee the security of Nagorno-Karabakh inhabitants and the entire Armenian population of Azerbaijan, as well as other issues.

#### Working Week Begins

Asim Dzhalilov reports from Baku:
The people of Baku and the inhabitants of other cities and rayons learned the result of the agreement reached between the republic's leadership and the Azerbaijan People's Front [NFA] Board from a live relay on republic TV late Sunday night [10 September]. It was announced

that, as of Monday 11 September, the strikes in Baku and the republic's other cities would be suspended.

The participants in the televised "roundtable" meeting attended by representatives of official organs and the NFA told viewers about the essence of the agreements reached on a number of matters. In particular, the agreement to officially recognize the NFA and allow its representatives to actively participate in the work of the forthcoming extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and so forth was announced.

R. Guseynov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee; NFA Chairman A. Aliyev; M. Mamedov, first secretary of Baku city party committee, and other speakers at the meeting expressed their satisfaction with the mutual understanding that had been achieved and the results of the dialogue, which will be continued.

All Baku enterprises and the city transportation system went back to work Monday morning.

### Congress Expels TV Newsmen

*PM1109183189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 First Edition p 6*

[Correspondents M. Odinets, I. Tikhomirov "Rejoinder": "Journalists Shown the Door...."]

[Text] Kiev—For 3 days the Kiev Polytechnic Institute Students' Club was the venue for the constituent congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka [PMU], known as "Rukh." The republic press provided current coverage of this event, offering its comments, which generated often savage criticism from congress delegates. Particularly rude and sometimes insulting remarks were made about PRAVDA UKRAINY, and there were even calls to boycott the newspaper.

Ukrainian television also provided up-to-the-minute reports on the congress. But the television journalists were unable to show the end of the congress. The reason is that they were expelled from the conference hall. This is what happened. It was announced from the congress platform that an important announcement was going to be made. The leader of the press center immediately mounted the rostrum and stated that Ukrainian television was presenting a distorted picture of the course of the congress' work and had allegedly done this particularly blatantly in a broadcast the previous evening. Condemnatory growls were heard, and the noise level rose. It was then decided to express no confidence in the television journalists who had prepared the broadcast. This was followed by a proposal that they be replaced by somebody else, but this was drowned out in the general shouting and bawling.

Mounting the rostrum, a representative of the television journalists asked: "Who among the delegates watched the television broadcast?" It transpired that no more than a dozen or so had. Nevertheless a no-confidence vote was taken, and the television team left the hall with their cameras.

This episode prompts gloomy thoughts. There was a great deal of talk from the PMU-"Rukh" congress rostrum about glasnost, pluralism, and freedom of speech, which is allegedly absent from our daily life. There were constant demands for freedom of opinion, but as soon as the disciples of this very freedom discerned dissident views or a different approach to things, the most drastic measures were immediately taken.

This is a very instructive instance, particularly for the edification of those who believe that informal organizations like "Rukh" are opening up a realm of freedom for the most diverse opinions to be expressed.

### Ukrainian Komsomol Elects New First Secretary

*PM1109155589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "One Out of Five"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee plenum ended in Kiev yesterday. The plenum met Valeriy Tsybukh's request to be relieved ofm his duties as member of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee in connection with his election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs.

There were five candidates for the first secretary's job. They included two Komsomol oblast committee first secretaries, the second secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, a rayon party committee second secretary, and a postgraduate student at the Kiev Higher Party School.

Anatoliy Matviyenko, postgraduate student at the Kiev Higher Party School and a previous secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee.

### Draft Law on Ukrainian Language Outlined

*PM0809151389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[Correspondent S. Tsikora report under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Month for Reflection"]

[Text] Kiev—The draft Law on Languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has been published in the Ukraine. It contains 36 articles with, as the document points out, the task of "regulating social relations in the sphere of the development and use of Ukrainian and the other languages used by the republic's population."

Sad circumstances have necessitated recourse to the help of the law to regulate the situation in such a delicate sphere as language. A commentary by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions published simultaneously with the draft law states that, owing to a deviation in the past from the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, "the social functions and the sphere of use of Ukrainian and also of the languages of the other national groups living on the republic's territory were unjustifiably limited."

What will be the situation if the Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR is adopted in its present form?

Ukrainian acquires the status of state language. This means that Ukrainian will be the official language in the work, official business, and documentation of state, party, and public organs, enterprises, establishments, and organizations in the republic, as well as the language for relations among them. At the same time the draft law guarantees for Ukrainian SSR citizens the right to freely use any other national language on the republic's territory, including the freedom to choose the language for addressing any organs, enterprises, establishments, or organizations.

The aforementioned commentary on the draft Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR specially points out that in drawing up the new legislative act the working group and the commissions of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet carefully studied how similar questions have been resolved in other union republics and which problems gave rise to the biggest arguments and were sore points, as it were. So it is certainly not by chance that the draft Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR recognizes Russian as the language of interethnic communication among the peoples of the USSR.

The question of the language of education merits special attention, and a special section is devoted to it in the draft law. In accordance with Article 24 of this draft law, study of Ukrainian and Russian is compulsory in all the republic's general educational schools, regardless of the language in which teaching is conducted in each of them. Schools in the Ukrainian SSR followed this rule in the postwar years, and no one was dissatisfied with this procedure.

Radical language changes will also occur in the life of higher and secondary specialized schools. Instruction and education in them, as well as in vocational and technical schools, are to switch to Ukrainian.

There is, it is true, one substantial reservation provided for in the draft law—groups with instruction in Russian may be set up within these educational institutions for citizens from other union republics and also for foreigners.

In accordance with the new rules, all persons entering secondary specialized educational institutions and higher educational institutions will take an entrance examination in the state language—that is, Ukrainian. Secondary school graduates from other union republics will form an exception. They are to take an examination in Russian or another national language.

It will, of course, not be easy to implement such a large-scale draft law. Therefore, to ensure the real fulfillment of its provisions, the gradual implementation of the law's norms is envisaged. Thus, certain norms—particularly those providing for Ukrainian to be granted the status of state language and also those ensuring protection of the language rights of citizens of all nationalities—are to come into force right after the law's implementation, while others connected with the transfer of official business everywhere in the republic to the state language will come into force over 5 years. As for the introduction of norms regulating language questions in the sphere of education, a 10-year term is laid down for this.

Further. The procedure for implementing the Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR provides for the republic Council of Ministers to draw up and adopt before 1 July 1990 the "State Program for the Development of Ukrainian and Other National Languages in the Ukrainian SSR," which will provide for specific measures aimed at cadre, material, and organizational backup for the realization of all the law's provisions. The nationwide discussion of the draft, which will last 1 month, will show which of its articles will undergo changes.

## Donbass Miners Say Agreements Not Implemented

*LD1109105189 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] The latest conference of the regional union of the strike committees of the Donbass has ended in Gorlovka, Donetsk Oblast. The strike committees of Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, and Rostov Oblasts belong to the union and its main task is to supervise the implementation of the measures agreed jointly by the strike council of Donetsk and the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on 23 July this year.

The course of the agreement's implementation was reported on by [name indistinct], deputy minister of the coal industry of the USSR. However, his address did not satisfy the participants in the conference and they adopted an appeal to the Soviet people and to the USSR people's deputies, to the Soviet Government and to the CPSU Central Committee. The appeal says that the agreement drawn up by miners of the Donbass and the government is not being implemented. Therefore, a new explosive situation is brewing. The antirestructuring forces are attempting to direct our movement against the interests of the Soviet people. They are pushing us toward new strikes. But strikes lead only to the worsening of the already difficult situation of miners and of the entire country.

The conference participants call for support for their stance in order to overcome the consequences of the last strike.

### Ukrainian Deputy Views Stagnation, Restructuring

*LD0209041989*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1525 GMT on 1 September in its "View" program broadcasts a 4-minute interview with People's Deputy Aleksandrovich Yavorivskiy, a member of the newly formed Ukrainian club of deputies.

Yavorivskiy describes the current situation in the Ukraine as a "classic or text-book example of stagnation". He continues: "You may remember that at the congress, Ion Drutse said that the wings of stagnation have spread mainly over Moldavia. Well he was wrong. If those are its wings, then the heart of stagnation is obviously in the Ukraine, because the Ukraine is finding it very hard, very difficult to get out of its stagnation, out of the permafrost. Why should this be? Well, if you would like to know, it is because, in general, the upper stratum of power has not changed at all here. During 4 and ½ years of restructuring, not a single minister has been replaced here, if I'm not mistaken. In other words, those who were fully responsible for that stagnant situation are, it seems, suitable for us today as well."

Yavorivskiy goes on to criticize Ukrainian Health Minister Romanenko, particularly for his performance after the Chernobyl disaster. Yavorivskiy says that he and other radical Ukrainian deputies have been campaigning against the draft law on local elections submitted for debate by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, because "the very reason that draft was created was to prevent people like us from getting in".

### Moldavian Strike Committee Member Cited

*LD1109182889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Video report by Dmitriy Kiselev from Kishinev, Moldavia entitled: "Problems of Our Federation"—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] In the past 24 hours Moldavia has received an essential stimulus for an interpretation of the situation in the republic—The television address to the country by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the statement by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, which were in agreement, were listened to seriously here. It is true that in spite of the appeal to refrain from mass measures the area around Stefan chel Mare has been crowded with people. But what can be done? It is precisely here that people have become accustomed to discussing the hottest news items.

[Unidentified man] The point is that explanatory material is needed now very urgently—not appeals but specifically laid out points.

[Kiselev] And now we are in Tiraspol, where 90 percent of the population is not Moldavian. This is the town soviet building.

[V. Nikolyuk, member of the republican strike committee, identified by screen caption] In the strike committee the reaction has been very positive. This speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich was constructive. We are now discussing this speech. Tomorrow we will be working in labor collectives to explain our position and the situation in the country, but the strike continues. We will also discuss in collectives tomorrow issues concerning the measures we should take to halt, to suspend the strike. But during all the days that our strike has been taking place the labor collectives have been going out to the villages to harvest vegetables and fruit, to the kolkhozes. The kolkhozes are helping us to deliver food to the town.

[Kiselev] Suspending the strike—and it seems that things are leading to exactly this—doesn't mean that all the problems will be removed, of course, especially since perestroyka is continuing and is bringing with it not only achievements but also fresh difficulties. On the one hand it is giving back to people a feeling of dignity, including national dignity. On the other, some people are inclined to practice this still unaccustomed feeling through so-called everyday nationalism.

Although Moldavia is a specific case, it is nevertheless impossible to separate its problems from the problems of the whole country. Moldavia is awaiting the coming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to be held very soon, and it is hoping that the decisions of a strong center adopted there will be marked by trust in strong republics.

### Official Flies to Moldavian Rail Strike Scene

*18290273 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 1*

[Report by M. Gorbis, GUDOK correspondent: "Appeal for a Sensible Compromise"]

[Text] Kishinev, Bendery, Beltsy—As we have already reported, on Tuesday, 29 August, the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet began its work in Kishinev. Dozens of major enterprises of union and republic significance are on strike. The work of the Bendery and Bessarabskaya engine depots has been halted to this day.

In light of the situation which has come about on the eve of the meeting's opening, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree "On the sociopolitical situation taking place in the republic in connection with the publication of the draft laws on language." In particular, the decree emphasizes that the enterprises' work stoppage intensifies the destabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, and has a negative effect on the normal functioning of the economic system, causing perceptible material damage to the national economy and the workers themselves.

The republic's highest organ of power addressed workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, the intelligentsia, and all the republic's citizens with an urgent appeal to manifest a restrained, thoughtful, and realistic approach to the resolution of the contentious issues associated with the examination of the draft laws on language.

Nevertheless, the sharp tension in Moldavia is not falling; the strikes continue. The collective of the Bendery engine depot expressed its political protest first.

When it became known that almost 200 engine brigades did not turn out to work for several days, B. Nikiforov, deputy minister of railways, flew to Bendery. He had meetings with the workers' committee. Yu. Svishchov, chairman of the workers' committee, said:

"If our demands are met, all depot workers will return to their workplace as one. We learned that at the meeting of the republic' Supreme Soviet, the deputies who are kolkhoz and sovkhoz [state farm] managers appealed to the chief of the Moldavian railroad to make an exception for them and assist in quickly transporting from the station the agricultural products which had been delivered there. In order not to lose fruits and vegetables, we left one switching engine each in Tiraspol, Bendery, and Kaushany, and on 29 August, we decided to take two trains of empty covered cars from Kishinev. We brought them in over that night, and deployed them along the fronts of loading perishables. But the strike continues. The collectives of the Bessarabskaya and Beltsy engine depots have already supported us."

"Yes, we discussed this problem in detail at our meetings, and decided to stop work in the freight movement in the directions of Okinitsa, Ungeny, and Slobodka," confirmed machinist V. Miroshnikov, chairman of the Beltsy engine depot workers' committee. "We support the just demands of the Bendery engine workers, and we are stopping work at on 30 August at 2100."

The meeting's work is being followed very carefully these days at the Bendery depot, and at all the other railroad's enterprises. On the first day of the session, deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet and Railroad Chief Y. Gerasimov spoke. On behalf of his electorate and the Moldavian railroad workers, he proposed introducing and number of amendments to the laws on languages. Their essence is as follows: Recognize the Russian language as a state language, together with Moldavian. A variant is possible in recognizing Russian as the language of interethnic communication within the territory of the Moldavian SSR. He considers it impossible to use Moldavian as the working and business language in railroad transportation work.

## Militia Actions Against Moldavian March Defended

*PM1109152189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 3*

[Interview with V. Melnik, Bendery city prosecutor, by unnamed ATEM (Moldavian Telegraph Agency) correspondent in Bendery: "Bendery: Rumors and Facts"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] There is more than enough information about the events which took place in Bendery 2 August. Highly contradictory information to boot. On the one hand there is the official explanation of the city authorities to the effect that law enforcement organs stopped an unauthorized march by members of the "Vatra" club. And on the other hand there is the "grapevine" which claims that the militia "deliberately took reprisals" against a peaceful demonstration of the Moldavian population. What did actually happen? An ATEM correspondent asked V. Melnik, the city prosecutor, to tell us.

[Melnik] Let me begin with a small digression. The literary, arts, and sociopolitical "Vatra" club which was officially registered in October 1988 has for many months been holding its sessions in premises which it had been allocated—the hall of the city library. I would like to stress that during all this time the club members never transgressed the law and the club's work had the backing of the city authorities.

On 21 July of the current year a group of the club's members asked the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] to be allowed to transfer the club sessions from the library to the open-air arena at Naberezhnaya. Since the open-air arena was out of the question, the gorispolkom offered the halls of either the cultural center named for Tkachenko or "Shelkovik" as an alternative. Nonetheless, despite the ban, the club held a session at Naberezhnaya 26 July. It was peaceful on the whole although it did not pass without verbal skirmishes between individual participants in the meeting and passers-by. The club members were warned there and then about the impermissibility of such sessions in the future. On 28 July the club leaders were invited to a gorispolkom session where they were told what consequences unauthorized events may entail.

[Correspondent] What was the club members' attitude?

[Melnik) Alas, they refused to heed the admonitions. As shortly afterward as 30 July one of them, O. Donkoglov, addressed a Moldavian People's Front rally in Kishinev which was attended by many thousands of people and invited them to come to Bendery 2 August to take part in a demonstration. Alarmed by so much irresponsibility I went and talked to the club leaders and briefed them in detail about the laws which apply in such situations. However, not even on this occasion did they draw the correct conclusions. In an effort to defuse the tension which was building up, the gorispolkom 1 August authorized the club to hold its session at the open-air arena at

Shelkovik village. On the evening of the same day the club leaders were notified of this decision.

On 2 August, toward the end of the day around 100 members of the club and their guests gathered at Naberezhnaya. They formed a column, pinned on tricolor ribbons and black bows, raised the tricolors, and set off for the city center.

[Correspondent] Many participants of the march claim that the "Vatra" members and their guests had no intention of holding a march on that day and that they were just calmly walking to the bus stop to travel to the meeting place....

[Melnik] Where does that leave O. Donkoglov's Kishinev invitation to a demonstration. After all he already knew then that the authorities had banned it. The people who gathered at Naberezhnaya formed a column and marched along singing and carrying flags, not walking haphazardly as some people are now trying to claim. Photographs in the militia's possession bear this out graphically. In response to warnings made over loudspeakers about the unlawful nature of the march, people in the column started shouting "Stalinists," "occupation forces." Naturally, the demonstration could not but attract the attention of the city inhabitants. On both sides of the column people started gathering, many of whom were expressing indignation at the unauthorized march. In order to prevent possible excesses, militiamen decided to accompany the column. Then, in the city center, at the junction of Lenin and Suvorov Streets, the marchers were suddenly surrounded by a crowd of citizens. Verbal clashes ensued and some citizens tried to penetrate the column and confiscate the flags. The situation was deteriorating by the minute.

[Correspondent] Could the militia staffers have kept it under control if it had exploded?

[Melnik] No. Only around 100 militiamen could have been used to counter a clash. However, in order to detain and restrain even one person two, and sometimes three militiamen are needed. And there were hundreds of people in the square. Naturally, in the event of mass disorders, the law enforcement forces would have been insufficient. Bearing this in mind and also the fact that passions had reached breaking point, the law enforcement organ staffers asked people once more to end the march and remove the paraphernalia. Only when these legitimate demands were not complied with, were steps taken to disperse the columm and detain the most active participants of the march.

[Correspondent] Were any members of the club or their guests beaten up by the militia? And if the answer is yes, how are these actions compatible with the law?

[Melnik] The people who refused to comply with the demands of the representatives of the authorities and had to be detained were grabbed, pushed into cars, and forcibly removed. Three march participants who put up persistent resistance against the militia staffers were, according to currently available evidence, hit once or twice with rubber truncheons.

On the same evening, 2 August, all those detained were seen by the court medical expert. Fourteen of them had minor injuries in the shape of small bruises, abrasions, and contusions. No one turned to the city's health care organs that evening as a result of having been beaten up.

At present all these circumstances are being investigated by the city prosecutor's office. We will be able to give a definitive answer to the question as to whether the actions of the militia organs were in line with the law when the investigation is completed. A preliminary analysis shows, however, that on the whole militia staffers acted in accordance with the law in that complex situation. I believe that they did what they did above all in the interests of order in the city.

[Correspondent] What about the claims that women and children were beaten up?

[Melnik] We have been told that at a session of the club named for A. Mateyevich in Kishinev there was talk of "brutal beatings of women and children in Bendery," and of "spilled blood." I state with utmost responsibility: Nothing like this happened. Minor injuries in the shape of bruises were inflicted on Raisa Padurar's and Yelena Bodyanu's arms. The latter was particularly active during the march. They received these injuries while being restrained by having their arms held. Nobody beat anyone up. There were no children among the injured.

Following the events of 2 August 6 people, rather than 15 as some people have claimed, were subjected to administrative detention. The people's court examined 15 administrative cases in consequence of which 1 participant of the unauthorized march was fined, 1 was subjected to administrative detention for 2 days, and another 7 were cautioned. People's judge V. Doaga dismissed 6 people's cases for lack of evidence that actions constituting a breach of the law had been committed. Six people were given a written warnings by the city prosecutor's office. G. Vyrtosu, living in Kaushanskiy Rayon was arrested and dispatched to Kishinev where criminal proceedings against him are under way (he had been released on bail on a pledge that he would not leave his permanent place of residence.—Ed. Note).

In addition to this, we have instituted criminal proceedings on the basis of group violations of public order and resisting representatives of the authorities. Separate proceedings are under way in connection with claims by a number of participants of the march that they were beaten up by militia staffers.

[Correspondent] What is the atmosphere like in the city now?

[Melnik] The events have left their mark, of course. People are agitated, opinions vary widely. However, mostly there is indignation that the march was held. But there are also fabrications and negative phenomena.

Certain people are trying to exploit the passions that are running high by posturing as the victims of stories which they themselves have invented about persecution for nationality reasons. Criminal elements have also stepped up their activities. So during the week following the events the number of crimes and various law infringements committed in the city has risen.

These are the facts. It is only to be regretted that the flow of unauthenticated information, or rather disinformation, has been picked by certain republic newspapers. For instance, in an article entitled "Pluralism of Opinions. Who Is Stirring up Minds?" which was published in the newspaper MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE.

Nor do we understand the stance of V. Nastase, correspondent of the newspaper TINERIMYA MOLDOVEY, who complained at a rally in Kishinev about difficulties in obtaining information at Bendery. While in the city he addressed himself neither to the city prosecutor, nor to the chief of the city internal affairs section, nor party or soviet organs, and was content to interview only those who had been detained and people unauthorized to give information.

We would like to hope that a more responsible attitude will be displayed in the future in briefing the public.

At present a specially established commission of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is working in the city. We hope that it will finally establish what actually happened.

## Speakers at 13 Aug Kishinev Rally Criticized

*PM0709152789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 3*

[MOLDAVIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY (ATEM) correspondent report: "Moldavian People's Front Rally"]

[Text] Last Sunday [13 August] a large number of supporters of the Moldavian People's Front gathered at an authorized rally. Those who came to the Green Theater in the Central Park of Culture and Rest named for the Lenin Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] were presented with the following theme: "The historical fate of Moldavian statehood."

Speakers dwelt on various dates and periods of time. But all of them, with one minor exception, rejected the oficial interpretation provided by Soviet historiography and presented their own, often categorical assessments.

V. Matey, secretary of the Moscow "Moldova" ethnocultural center, for instance, dwelling on the events of 1812, 1918, and 1940, described them as tragic and inhuman. His thoughts were developed by philologist P. Balmush, who said that under the Turkish yoke Moldavians' questions pertaining to sovereignty and language and other problems were resolved more fairly than under tsarist rule. D. Mikhail, correspondent of the weekly LITERATURA SHI ARTA [name as transliterated], sharply criticized a selection of archive documents published recently in the newspaper VECHERNIY KISHINEV.

The speakers who dwelt on the activities of SFATUL TSERIY [name as transliterated] were just as unanimous. The assessments made of this organ were exclusively positive, and the aim of its activities—the unification of the entire Romanian race—was said to have lost none of its topicality even today. In a resolution adopted at the rally the participants demanded the early publication in the republic periodical press of objective material about the events of 1775, 1812, 1878, 1918, and 1940, and a more detailed explanation of, for instance, the transfer of eight rayons of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Questions pertaining not just to the history of Moldavian statehood but also to its future as envisaged by the leaders of the People's Front were raised at the rally. In this context appeals rang out to gather as many people as possible "on the day of the national assembly." Car owners were invited to convey groups of People's Front agitators to nearby villages. Lists were also drawn up of Kishinev inhabitants prepared to accommodate for the night envoys to the national assembly from remote parts of the republic. All this was said in connection with the plan to hold an at least 100,000-strong demonstration in parallel with the session of the republic Supreme Soviet in order to exert psychological pressure on the deputies.

Individual speakers urged the return of land to the peasants and a halt to the construction of dachas in the republic. There were demands that steps be taken to punish those to blame for the events which took place 2 August this year in Kishinev and Bendery, and for the question of Moldavian SSR citizenship to be examined. All this was also reflected in the rally resolution.

The speech of a guest from Poland who was introduced to those present as "Mr Zigmund, an active participant in the Solidarity Movement," met with tumultuous applause. His statement that "Solidarity and the Moldavian People's Front share the same aims" particularly delighted his audience. This assessment clearly flattered the People's Front activists to such an extent that the selfsame P. Balmush could not refrain from returning the compliment: "We woke up thanks to Poland!"

Unfortunately, the speakers on the aforementioned theme included only one historian—M.I. Chernenko, senior scientific staffer at the Party History Institute under the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, who dwelt on the events preceding the formation of the Moldavian People's Republic 2 December 1917. The other specialists who had been invited by the rally organizers for various reasons did not touch upon these events. The ATEM correspondent asked Mikhail Ignatiyevich to comment on the debate which took place at the rally.

"Rallies of this kind," he said, "should be attended by as many scholars and specialists as possible. It is wrong for them to stay in their ivory towers and remain impassive in respect of the sentences which people are passing on their history. This is because the course of the historical development of the people and society in the future, sometimes the very near future, depends directly on these assessments."

The fact that people of the most varied professions are now focusing on the history of their own people and especially its "blank spots" is laudable. The fact that they share their knowledge with others at rallies is also to be welcomed. But something else must also be remembered: Everyone has a right to his own opinion, his own version of the course of events, but it would be wrong to present them as the ultimate truth.

This is the method favored by the historians of the period of stagnation—they "extracted" from history the details they found useful and highlighted them from the angle that suited them. Today, in the age of new thinking and pluralism of opinions, this method is unacceptable. In my opinion it is simply immoral to "weigh up" which yoke was "more just"—the Russian or the Turkish. A yoke is a yoke and it is inhuman in whatever shape it takes. A different approach is needed here: Historical events, the entire historical process must be assessed and evaluated on the basis of the totality of all facts. Only in this way can we arrive at the truth. Therefore I believe that the discussion at this type of rally, just as in any other auditorium, must be conducted by observing the principle of pluralism. And it is above all the assistance of historians which is needed in the quest for truth.

### Nishanov Interviewed on Nationalities Issues

*PM1109185189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[Interview with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "To Find a Path to Mutual Understanding"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Rafik Nishanovich, the flow of readers' letters to IZVESTIYA has swollen considerably as a result of the discussion of the CPSU platform on the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions. Carefully studying the document, people are submitting proposals for the practical implementation of the party program and suggesting honed formulations. It is only natural that numerous letters express alarm at the events in "hot spots" in the country, including Nagorno-Karabakh. What is your comment on the development of events in that region?

[Nishanov] First of all, I understand people's serious concern over the never ending conflict situation in a number of the country's regions. The restructuring of interethnic relations is an extremely complex and multifaceted matter demanding utmost restraint from everyone, as well as time.

At a time when the party and the soviets are adopting fresh approaches to all spheres of life and are seeking constructive solutions to interethnic problems, reason cannot accept the fact that, in some regions, the natural desire of peoples living and working together is yielding to group egoism and intolerance, to nationalist hysteria. If we reject administrative edict methods out of hand in the economy, these methods are even less acceptable in the spiritual process, in the solution of interethnic contradictions. Democratism, trust in people, goodwill, and utmost attention to national languages, traditions, culture, and historical values must—one would imagine—constitute the basic principles governing the work of soviets and their organs. Of course, we are not talking of letting processes in this sphere just drift. Here it is impossible to permit phenomena that are incompatible with our ideology and morals. We must resolutely overcome any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The interests of the people, the interests of any nation and ethnic group, the interests of genuine socialism—these are the main tasks of perestroyka in the sphere of nationalities policy.

I am convinced that the complex knots of interethnic relations we have inherited from the past can be untangled only within the framework of the Fundamental Law, which rejects the infringement of a citizen's rights regardless of the nationality to which he belongs, in an atmosphere of mutual respect, quest for compromise, and a common desire for peace which we ought without fail to hand down to our children and grandchildren. This is precisely the spirit which imbues the CPSU platform.

The deputies' commissions set up in the Soviet of Nationalities are already hard at work on the problems of Soviet Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks. Questions associated with the fate of other ethnic groups which were subjected to mass deportation from their native areas are also on the agenda. Unfortunately, there is not and there cannot be some sort of a standard model for solving the problem, a model that would suit everyone. Every case has to be approached with heightened caution so as not to offend anyone's interests and not to infringe anyone's rights while searching for approaches toward fundamentally untangling the knots. What some people might see as our slowness is due not to any underestimation of the acuteness of the situation, but only to a sense of responsibility and a desire to adopt a considered approach and possibly find elements capable of positions closer together.

These quests were at the center of the attention of the USSR people's deputies who recently returned from Nagorno-Karabakh. The commission has not yet completed its work. It is preparing proposals which will have to be discussed at a sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities. The conclusions will be reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. For perfectly understandable reasons, I cannot anticipate any future legislative decisions, but there is one thing I can say with utmost certainty: Nobody intends to

infringe the legitimate rights of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic or its borders. All questions concerning Nagorno-Karabakh will be resolved taking into account without fail the interests of Armenians, Azeris, and people of other nationalities living in the oblast. The quest for a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast problem is being conducted within the framework of a constitutional settlement.

They can be neither victors nor vanquished in the solution of this question. The sole winners must be the interests of the Azeri and Armenian peoples, of the entire Soviet federation.

It must be admitted that the measures taken previously to rectify the moral-political situation in the region failed to produce the desired results. Unfortunately, the alienation of the Azeri and Armenian sections of Nagorno-Karabakh's population has gone too far. It is no exaggeration to say that the local mass media, often unscrupulous in their choice of expressions, are adding fuel to the fire. In this situation we have people suffering, refugees roaming the highways, and national historical and cultural monuments being destroyed. One would like to shout out in an altogether unparliamentary manner: Stop it, brothers!

Let me repeat: Only calm, restraint, and rejection of all violence can create an atmosphere for a sensible solution to a problem on which the attention of all peoples in the union is now focused.

## Ethnic Cultural Life in Moscow 'Flourishing'

*LD0809120989 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 8 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—By TASS analyst Igor Galkin:

Cultural life is flourishing in Moscow as various ethnic communities work to promote their culture and languages by opening clubs, staging cultural events and cooperating with each other.

Nine cultural centres have already opened in the city, including Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish and Moldavian ones. The Armenian community has launched evening language courses in four places in Moscow for schoolchildren.

Some 40 language programmes for children will open here this year alone. They will teach ten Soviet nationalities' languages including Ukrainian, Belorussian, Tatar and Yiddish.

Jewish cultural societies are now open in more than 20 Soviet cities. They are setting up libraries and amature artists' clubs and holding exhibitions. The Moscow Literary Institute has recently opened its doors to a group of young journalists to help improve their skills in reporting in Yiddish.

A Korean cultural society has opened in the Soviet central Asian republic of Kirghizia. Some 30,000 Koreans live in the republic and the association is planning to open a club with musical and literary studios and a natural history society to enable children and teenagers to study their forefathers' history.

An association of the Samy people emerged in the Kola Peninsular to help local authorities develop reindeer breeders' cultural traditions and social facilities.

Reports are flowing in from all over the Soviet Union about more initiatives to develop ethnic culture.

More than 60 million people are living outside their republics in the Soviet Union, raising several specific problems, like how to adapt to the culture of the republic where they live without losing their national identity and how to pass their native language and cultural traditions to their children and teach them to mix with people of other cultures.

Perestroyka humanised state policy and has put the peoples' national aspirations on one level with their social interests.

The draft platform of the Soviet Communist Party, submitted for a nationwide discussion in the run-up to a Communist Party plenum that will discuss the problems of inter-ethnic relations, firmly states that all ethnic cultures must be preserved, that all languages are equal and that every person shall freely choose the language of learning.

However, positive changes in this direction aqre often left unnoticed, eclipsed by media coverage of sensational events in some Soviet republics.

In Moldavia, continuing political strikes have left idle 200 enterprises in Tiraspol, Bendery, Beltsy, Rybnitsa and other cities where the majority of the population speak Russian.

Russian-speaking strikers are protesting against the new Moldavian law making Moldavian the official language, which they think infringes on their use of their native language in social life and at work.

Ukrainians have taken their draft legislation much more calmly. The draft law proposes to make Ukrainian the state language and give Russian the status of a language of inter-ethnic communication. There are some 300,000 Moldavians living in the Ukraine who would have protested if the law put Ukrainian above other languages. There are also 11 million Russians, 600,000 Jews, 400,000 Belorusians, 260,000 Poles and 170,000 Hungarians living in the republic. The draft law proclaims active and equal use of all languages in state, political and public life.

These are no mere words, and the republican authorities are actively promoting ethnic cultures. A republican festival of ethnic cultural programmes was recently held

in the Odessa region, with folk groups presenting ancient Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, Greek, Jewish and Swedish art.

It is natural, that people living in an alien ethnic environment, want to preserve their ethnic traditions. Perestroika has tapped mass ethnic self-conscience and broadened the movement for the preservation of ethnic identity.

Some difficulties remain in this sphere: ossified directives of the old administrative system, old stereotypes and sometimes nationalistic sentiments.

These are surmountable difficulties, because the movement for ethnic identity is now getting legal guarantees and is supported by the party and society, which has embarked on the road to sweeping democratic reforms.

### Latvian Party Leader on New Parties, Autonomy

*LD1109205589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Interview with Yan Yanovich Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent Ninel Meshkun in Latvia; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Meshkun] Voices in society are now saying that the political platform and policy of building a law-governed state, and the existence of a diversified range of views on the course of perestroyka, may lead to the formation of new political parties. What is your view of this problem?

[Vagris] You know, it is my opinion that, bearing in mind the situation in our republic and the further development of democratization, the possibility that some parties may form cannot be ruled out. However, it is still premature to speak about this. There are a number of movements, but one cannot say that a multiparty system is already appearing or being formed here. We favor dialogue with everyone; we favor cooperation with constructive movements which aim to renew socialism.

[Meshkun] Do you require a high degree of exactingness from yourselves?

[Vagris] Well, undoubtedly so, undoubtedly—quiet words but concrete deeds.

[Meshkun] Some voices are also saying that the Latvian Communist Party should withdraw from the CPSU. How do you view this? is there any prospect that this may happen?

[Vagris] Well, to speak frankly, there are not only individual calls for withdrawal from the party but for withdrawal from the USSR. I do not think that there is any future in this; these ideas are not supported by anything, and there is no platform for this slogan, nor is there an economic platform as far as withdrawal from the USSR is concerned. As for a withdrawal from the CPSU—You see, discussion should not be about withdrawal, but it is true that the communist parties of union republics must have new status, such a discussion is being conducted in our republic. This discussion is necessary, and status for the new communist party of a union republic is also necessary. If we examine CPSU rules, we find that there is no section on the communist party of a union republic. Meanwhile, given that it is established in both the USSR Constitution and in the constitution of each republic that every union republic is a sovereign socialist state, it is first of all necessary to lend real substance to that concept, in other words, to restructure the Soviet federation, having lent real substance to these slogans. Of course, from the reorganization of the state [gosudarstvennoye perestrustroystvo] it logically follows that the status of the communist party of a union republic—I am not just speaking about the Communist Party of Latvia—must also be higher as a whole, of course.

[Meshkun] We are talking about a new status for the republican party organization. What does this mean?

[Vagris] Well, it means that the communist party of a union republic must have a higher degree of independence in the resolution of all matters concerning the republic, taking into account, of course, the interests of the union, without a doubt.

Unfortunately, now we have to coordinate every minor issue with the CPSU Central Committee. In other words, I consider that we are fully capable, that we can and must resolve these issues here on the spot. We can see it more clearly. Taking into account the specific features of each republic—in this case I am talking about our republic—issues are undoubtedly clearer on the spot than from the center.

### Vilnius Party Statement on Destabilizing Forces

*LD1109225289 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] The Bureau of the Vilnius City Party Committee has released a statement disassociating itself categorically from the forces which are out to destabilize the political and economic situation by their irresponsible actions and ultimatum-like demands. The statement was provoked by the political situation in Vilnius becoming ever more tense. Forces trying to block the republic's advance on the road towards democracy, self-dependence, and the creation of legal institutions have been actively on the rise at some industrial enterprises. Committees to defend social and political rights are being set up which, in fact, perform the functions of strike committees. They've already attempted to orchestrate political strikes. The Bureau of the Vilnius City Party Committee is convinced that the situation neither in the city nor in the republic at large demands any extreme measures.

## Semenov Appraises Lithuanian Nationalist Issues

*LD1109172789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[From the "Radio Station Soyuz" program presented by Vinogradova with commentator Yuliy Aleksandrovich Semenov]

[Text] [Vinogradova] My colleague, commentator Yuliy Aleksandrovich Semenov, has joined me in the studio. He has just returned from a working visit to Lithuania. I would like ask you, Yuliy Aleksandrovich, to share your impressions with us. I understand that there is not much time, but nevertheless you probably do have some impressions.

[Semenov] Well I will say what I can. I only want to stress that these will be my own opinions.

First of all, on the outside everything is calm in Lithuania, but tension can be felt—it is perceptible. What, first and foremost, does the debate center on? The first thing is the implementation of the law giving Lithuanian the status of a state language. There are bones of contention here, as one could suppose, especially in enterprises where there is a mainly Russian-speaking workforce.

[Vinogradova] Yuliy Aleksandrovich, on Saturday an interview with Comrade Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was published in PRAVDA. I noticed that he...[changes thought] Well, this is what he said in particular about giving Lithuanian the status of a state language: This measure is in keeping with the Lithuanian people's deepest aspirations, and many representatives of the non-Lithuanian speaking population have gradually begun to understand this. I must also mention that knowledge of Lithuanian is necessary only for people in leading positions who are in direct contact with the population. And apart from this, one should bear in mind that the language law does not affect the area of interpersonal relations.

So maybe everthing is not so bad...

[Semenov] Yes, that is a very important consideration and I think it is useful that such clarity has been introduced, but of course much practical work is still needed here to help people who do not know Lithuanian learn it. And also, of course, in any personal relations, this factor must be taken into consideration. The second element which I would like to stress is the heat with which the discussion of the draft law on citizenship of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is being conducted, especially those clauses which require from citizens, people who were not born in Lithuania—regardless of how long they have lived there, even decades, have worked there and so on—additional items, additional conditions for acquiring citizenship in the republic. And finally, the discussion which has been officially declared in the republic and in the Lithuanian Communist Party itself about its status, about its relations with the CPSU and about its own program of statutes is gaining strength. And in addition to this on the horizon there are looming elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, to the local power organs. Much will depend on them as well. And I do doubt that the election campaign will be politically acute. Every movement and every organization will want to make themselves known and to put forward their candidates on various levels. And there are so many such organizations in Lithuania, including political parties of which there are several.

[Vinogradova] Even parties, eh?

[Semenov] Right.

[Vinogradova] Yuliy Aleksandrovich, you were at some meetings, have you composed your impressions of those meetings?

[Semenov] Yes, but I cannot talk in detail about them just now. I was at two meetings in Vilnius the Saturday and Sunday before last. Both were emotional, and of course it was interesting to be present, but they were, imagine this, opposite in content.

[Vinogradova] Were both equally emotional?

[Semenov] Both were equally emotional. But I would nevertheless like to talk about certain peculiarities of Lithuania in comparison with, say the other Baltic Republics. First of all, Lithuanians make up 80 percent of the republic, and therefore Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka], a movement which, depending mainly, not only but mainly on the native population, has much greater influence than, say, the national fronts in Estonia or Latvia.

Here is an example: You remember my conversation with you which was broadcast from there the Saturday before last?

[Vinogradova] Yes, yes.

[Semenov] I reported that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session had been postponed from the beginning of September to 24 October and I evaluated this as a sign of a balanced approach, as giving people the chance to discuss everything more calmly and not to heat up the situation. But when I was leaving Lithuania I discovered that the session had been brought forward to 20 September at the insistence of Sajudis leaders. It is not, of course, a matter of dates, maybe...

[Vinogradova] Just the fact itself?

[Semenov] Yes, just the fact itself. The influence of this movement is very serious and great.

The second peculiarity is the lack of unity of the movements which people of, again not only but mainly, non-Lithuanian nationality join: Yedinstvo [unity], the Lithuanian Union of Working People and other organizations. Now, it is true, these movements seem to intend to unite their efforts to a greater degree, but of course

Lithuania does not need so much a consolidation of forces on a nationality principle, as on a basis of support for perestroyka, democratization and political culture. But here is a thought: One of the criteria of democracy and political culture, as recognized throughout the world, is the ability to take into account and observe the interests of not only the majority but also of the minority. And finally a couple of words about the third peculiarity. It has so happened historically that many Lithuanians have emigrated. Because of this the republic has wide, national, and international links. I am not saying that this is a bad thing, but I am just stating this as one of the peculiarities of Lithuania.

[Vinogradova] And this link with Lithuanian emigres is felt?

[Semenov] Yes, in many ways. In particular, the Lithuanian Kaunas University, where a high level of participation by Lithuanian professors from abroad is planned, has been founded.

[Vinogradova] Yes, everything is clear. You began by saying that everything is calm in Lithuania, but does any kind of extremism make itself felt in action?

[Semenov] Well, there is no extremism manifested in any acts of violence, or offensive actions or words—but it appears in printed works, leaflets, perhaps, especially by the Lithuanian Freedom League or by some extreme elements of Yedinstvo. It does exist. It exists, and this is a negative sign...

[Vinogradova, interrupting] But, in my opinion, the Lithuanian Freedom League does not enjoy particular prestige even among the Lithuanians themselves. Isn't that right?

[Semenov] But nevertheless anyone who says that there is no extremism in Lithuania should go to Cathedral Square, at the back there is a cathedral where there is a permanent exhibition of such materials in comparison with which even PRAVDA's photographs are pale. But this, of course, does not determine the situation in the republic.

What in my opinion, may turn out to be the key to solving its problems? Mutual understanding, consolidation, balance, the realization of the possibilities of republican financial autonomy and the improvement of the republic's economic and social situation. This is very important. And finally, the balancing of the interests of the republic and the union in the framework of the renewed federation is a must. That is my analysis.

## Vyalyas Addresses Estonian Supreme Soviet

*18001578 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Aug 89 p 2*

[Speech by Deputy of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Vayno Vyalyas at the ESSR Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] My speech has been prompted by the need to yet again appeal to all deputies for them to show as much political responsibility as possible at the current stage, which is politically extremely crucial and once again consider the consequences which may be brought on by disagreements on resolving an issue as important as the adoption of a law on elections to the local soviets of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Yesterday, I outlined the point of view of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia at a commission meeting, and called for an agreement and consensus in order not to look for disagreements, especially where they do not actually exist, and to try to impart an ethnic coloring to the issues in which it is entirely absent. I will not comment now on the amendments to the draft which have been submitted; I would only like to address the deputies with the latest information.

The point is that I have just received the draft of the CPSU Central Committee platform "The Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Current Conditions" which will be published for a comprehensive discussion. This document contains answers to many questions, and this should make us reflect on the fact that many problems which we, perhaps, excessively dramatize at present may be solved in our common state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the basis of a new union treaty.

I will quote some points, and I ask you to listen to them very attentively. "Third. The issue of **citizenship** is closely tied to the sovereignty of a republic. According to the principles of socialist federalism, it should be acknowledged that every union republic has its citizenship which embraces all inhabitants of the republic. A citizen of the union republic is simultaneously a citizen of the USSR. Privileges for some Soviet citizens and the infringement of rights of others by virtue of ethnicity, religion, language, and the duration of residence are inadmissible... Sixth. In conjunction with the transformation of the Soviet federation, the issues of status and activities of social organizations playing an important role in the political system of the USSR are raised in a new manner..." It says below that "all rights commensurate with their status as sovereign socialist states" should be transferred to the republics. "They have the power to resolve all issues of state and public life, excluding those which they voluntarily cede to the jurisdiction of the union."

There is also a chapter on how to restructure the Soviet federation and make it full-fledged. I would also ask that you pay special attention to it.

"Since April 1985, we have worked out and have been carrying out a program of reforms in the economy, politics, and other spheres of social life. The entire recent course of development of the country brings us to the conclusion on the need for radical transformations in the Soviet federation.

"The completely voluntary nature of unification of Soviet republics into one union state, within which every republic maintains its independence and has a right to

participate in making common decisions, is the safeguard of strength of our federation. The position of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is exceptionally important; it has come out in favor of restoring the Leninist principle of national self-determination in its genuine meaning which should be ensured by appropriate democratic legal guarantees.

"In consistently advocating this principle, the CPSU sees its priority political task in ensuring that the multifaceted needs of all Soviet nations—I stress: All Soviet nations—are met through the renewed federation—I stress: through the renewed federation—so that all of them receive extensive opportunities for the enhancement of their economy and culture on the basis of the mighty national economic complex created in our country and the scientific and cultural potential, so that this policy brings about the internationalist unity of Soviet peoples and the reinforcement of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"The Soviet federation holds a tremendous potential, and it is important to use it fully.

"An optimum ratio between the rights of union republics and the Union of the SSR as a whole is a prerequisite for the stability and successful development of the federation. In this regard, several key questions come to the fore for which a coordinated solution should be found—I stress—the platform says: a coordinated solution should be found... In keeping with this, the jurisdiction and mutual obligations of the union and the republic should be strictly defined.

"The union should be assigned the powers necessary to establish the foundations of and develop the political system, ensure the defense and security of the country, coordinate and solve common tasks in the area of economics, science, and culture...."

The draft says that the economic content of self-determination under contemporary conditions is expressed in the transition of republics to economic accountability and self-financing. I stress—in keeping with this, which is important from the point of view of quite heated discussions in our parliament concerning the resolutions adopted on 16 November, the draft sets forth:

"A union republic should have the right to own and manage the land, minerals, forest, water, and other natural resources in its territory. At the same time, the Union of SSR should be assigned the right to set forth all-union foundations for their use, including taking into account all-state, interrepublic interests, and interests of the defense and security of the country."

Due to this, I address all deputies with a suggestion to weigh [things] very seriously before making a decision because very much depends on our mutual understanding on the issue of where the republic is to go next. Unfortunately, I must inform you that before the draft law on elections was discussed and adopted by the Supreme Soviet, a meeting of the council of strike committees was held, at which documents calling for a strike as early as 09.00 hours tomorrow morning were discussed.

An appeal to enterprises was worked out. I do not know whether this document was adopted or not; however, its draft is noteworthy. It says:

"On 8 August, the Supreme Soviet of the republic adopted the Law on Elections to the Local Soviets. (As is known, we have not adopted any law yet). This law extinguished our last hope to be heard and understood and have our equal right to live and work on our land acknowledged. (In what sense does anyone deprive anyone else of the right to live and work on this land which is our common home?). In essence, they removed us from power. (In what manner did we, esteemed deputies, remove someone from power?) We were deprived of the opportunity to participate in governing the affairs of state."

In what manner? As you can see, our debates here are held within the framework of democracy and parliamentary policy. Besides, is it ethical to give through parliamentary procedures an ultimatum on refusing to take part in voting? This, however, is a matter of conscience of every deputy.

The document of the council of strike committees goes on to say: "The law on elections virtually eliminated the toilers from political life, having given the seats of deputies to the appointees of the bloc of nationalist forces, avid proponents and advocates of the ideology of priority of the indigenous nation."

We said long ago and quite clearly that any such priority is out of the question. We stressed one very important issue—that of self-determination, which is clearly referred to in the draft CPSU platform.

Further below: "This is how a system of uncontrolled nomination of candidates by an anonymous collection of signatures was worked out for them; it is exactly for them that the crafty procedure of voting with the ranking of contenders in the order of preference and the transfer of the votes among themselves is advantageous."

At issue here is the draft law initially submitted for discussion. Nobody knows yet the shape in which the law will be passed. However, this is yet another indication of how far we can go in our disagreements if we abandon the constructive political attitude and sober political thinking. I do not want to agitate here or use this speech in order to bring pressure to bear on the deputies.

The point on residency requirement, that is, whether all those who live in the territory of Soviet Estonia, all citizens of Estonia should be given the vote or whether it should be restricted by a 2-year residency requirement in a given region or 5 years in the republic, remains the only

issue which serves as the cause of disagreement and which gives rise to the debate.

I do not negate either variant; let us consider how constructive both of them are. However, let us not approach it on the principle that at issue is giving preferences to one national group or another. Why do we definitely have to mean the Russian-speaking population and assign to it the role of the most mobile segment of the populace? After all, we do not want this at all; quite the opposite, we are against this. So why do we have to look at the issue from the nationality standpoint?

Democratization is advancing very fast; elections of the people's deputies of the USSR have shown how vigorously the people take part in elections. The following question is quite justified: Why do we need to stress once again these very two provisions—on the residency requirement of 2 years in a given region and 5 years in the republic? Should we determine this in a legislative act? Why should we not leave this to be done at the discretion of local soviets?

I am not a lawyer, but, as I see it, the point here is that legislative guarantees are needed to the effect that competent people will be elected to the soviets. Nationality plays no role in this. There is absolutely no reason to see national discrimination in this.

I do not know which variant the Supreme Soviet, the supreme legislative authority of the republic, will adopt, but I would not like very much for the law which is adopted today to provide a pretext for the people who are eagerly awaiting this in orded to again destabilize the situation in our republic, which we have been leading together on a new, albeit very difficult, path since 16 November 1988.

A lot of reproach came down on us when we adopted the declaration on sovereignty and the law on the language, and advanced the idea of republic economic accountability. Now we are seeing these key issues of the political course of the Communist Party of Estonia worked out by the 11th and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party being reflected in the decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the country, and being included in the draft of a most significant all-party document, coinciding almost completely with our approaches. This confirms yet again that our course is correct, and the people may be confident that we will not turn away from it.

At the same time, such reproach indicates that, perhaps, we have not always acted as we should have, have not always sought the advice of the people, especially the Russian-speaking population. In this respect, the criticism leveled at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the parliament, should be taken into account.

I stress yet again that we cannot by any means allow the approach whereby, by voting in favor of one of the two proposals submitted, we draw a division along nationality lines.

This is an incorrect approach. You may disagree with the principle proposed, but not by virtue of the language and nationality affiliation. It is inadmissible to confuse this.

We, the deputies, are now facing a very serious decision. It is necessary to pass the law on elections; elections cannot be postponed. This issue has been fully transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic. As a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, I once again appeal to all deputies: Leave outside this hall everything that prompts you to reduce disagreements to nationality causes; just the opposite, let us show our unity with regard to the future of Estonia, its economy, its social, political, and national development being our common cause, and not just ours. This is the cause of the entire country. We find a confirmation of the correctness of our course in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee, in the support we have invariably received from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of our state M.S. Gorbachev even at the most difficult moments.

It is very simple to walk out of here today and by a single demonstration bring about us being forced tomorrow to again travel the very difficult path of looking for an agreement on issues equally affecting all of us regardless of nationality. If we are not going to have tomorrow the grain grown by a ploughman, if we are not going to have goods which are primary necessities, if we are not going to have as much energy as is needed, then, esteemed deputies, let us ask ourselves this question: Have we played our role? Will it not be more correct to think again today? We may vote differently, proceeding from our convictions and the imperatives of our conscience, but by no means the nationality affiliation.

I would very much like every deputy to be in his labor collective, with his electorate beginning tomorrow morning in order for us to tell the truth to the people, and prevent the people from being stupefied by what may bring about irreversible consequences.

Let us reflect on this! The responsibility of a deputy is extremely high.

### Comparison to 'Estonian Plenum Notes Instability'

*LD0109210489*

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 1 September broadcasts a 5-minute report on the 1 September meeting of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The radio report has been compared with the TASS item, which appeared on page 50 of the 5 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the subhead "Plenum Notes Instability, Tension", and has revealed the following variations:

paragraph two, last sentence, radio version reads: "...attaining mutual understanding. [new paragraph]

The residence qualification adopted in the law on elections left some of the people who have come to Estonia

in recent years without the right to vote. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium interpreted this as a violation of the USSR citizens' rights, the report says. The eligibility qualification was understood as an ethnic qualification, and public opinion in the West also adopted a critical view of the Estonian republic's law on elections to local soviets. The grounds for this were provided by tendentious articles and interviews in the Western news media.

The resolution of..." (providing additional paragraph)

paragraph three, last sentence, radio version reads: "...and open threats. [new paragraph]

In order to intensify all activities of the republic party organizations and to work out the points of a program of action by the Estonian Communist Party, it is necessary to extensively develop a party discussion on this matter. This discussion has an important role to play in reforming the Communist Party's activity and in renovating the forms and methods of work by its organizations and committees. The Estonian Communist Party's program of action, as the final result of party discussion, should be a document determining the specific tasks of restructuring within the Estonian Communist Party.

The course of..." (supplying additional paragraph)

paragraph four, only sentence, radio version reads: "...democratisation of society. [new paragraph]

It was stressed at the plenum that the renovation of the Estonian Communist Party insistently requires that every primary party organization should, prompted by common tasks and guided by statute provisions on its autonomy in tackling local issues, have its own program of action and its own program of restructuring which meet the fundamental conditions of the labor collective and the region. Detailed discussion of these issues should serve to consolidate communists on a principled socialist basis, to improve conscious party discipline, and should ensure unified action in deepening Estonia's restructuring processes in the spirit of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The plenary meeting..." (supplying additional paragraph)

### CPSU Baltics Announcement Received 'Without Alarm'

*18001575 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 1*

[Article by E. Govorushko, Riga: "Adopted Without Alarm"]

[Text] Apparently, the time of unanimous approval or condemnation of even the most authoritative opinion, including those proposed from above, has passed. There is nothing to be surprised at if in Latvia today, the evaluation of the CPSU Central Committee is approached with consideration of personal experience, with a personalized analysis of the situation.

The document made public during the Saturday "Vremya" program troubled both the population of the capital and the republic in general. It was unexpected, and overly categorical in many ways. By the next day, in a telegram to the CPSU Central Committee and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a group of USSR people's deputies and deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] expressed its disagreement with the evaluation of the political situation in the Baltics.

On that same day, a conference took place in the Riga party gorkom [city committee] with the participation of the first secretaries of the raykoms [rayon committees]. A report was prepared for the press in which it was noted that its appearance was caused by the serious processes now taking place in the Baltic republics. The conference participants regarded the appeals for common sense and a balanced approach in the resolution of the future of the Baltic peoples with understanding. It was recommended to the party organization that the statement of the CPSU Central Committee be discussed in labor collectives and that this must be done calmly, in a balanced manner, without hysteria or headlong resolutions or decisions. In his speech on republic television Sunday evening, I. Kezbers, secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party and one of the signatories of the telegram to Moscow, characterized the statement simply.

"I expressed my personal opinion," Ivar Yanovich said to me later. "And I am not hiding it now. The document is premature, untimely, and overly categorical. In spite of all similarity, the political and social processes in each of the Baltic republics are proceeding differently, constructive to varying degrees. In the document, everything is mixed together. In addition, the ability of the republics' Communist Parties and governments to control the situation is illegally cast in doubt."

A number of rallies and meetings has already taken place in labor collectives. For example, at the meeting of the LaSSR [Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic] Committee for Environmental Protection, a telegram to the CPSU Central Committee was adopted in which the conclusion is drawn that the document assesses the political situation in Latvia incorrectly, and that it misinterprets the aspiration towards national renaissance and self-determination.

In its address to the people, the Duma of the People's Front of Latvia appeals to people for restraint. But even the majority of those who condemn the statement note that there are grounds for concern in the CPSU Central Committee. In particular, they are connected with the activities of extremist groups and movements which attend rallies, and various sorts of actions with anti-Soviet slogans and posters.

In view of this, the statement of the Central Committee Bureau of the Latvian Communist Party was timely and sober; it notes that manifestations of separatism are

indeed taking place in the republic, in addition to anti-Soviet, nationalistic and chauvinistic moods. It is underscored that the position of communists remains the same: Favoring a sovereign Latvia in the body of a qualitatively renewed Soviet federation, favoring the new status of the Latvian Communist Party as an inalienable constituent part of the CPSU.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Latvian Communist Party has appealed for calm, for balanced actions, and well-thought out decisions. First responses testify that the republic's communists support this position.

The time for calm discussion and analysis of the positions and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee is still ahead. I am certain that this will also be paid serious attention at the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which resumed its work after a recess. The fact that the CPSU Central Committee statement was received without alarm in the republic is important testimony to the population's growing political culture. The situation is normal, promoting the calm dialogue of the various public organizations and movements.

### Korionov Scrutinizes Western Concern for Baltics

*PM1209090089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4*

[PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov article: "As You Sow..."]

[Excerpts] The following lines could be read in the Japanese newspaper ASAHI recently: "History shows that an explosion of nationalism often leads to direct action. That is why serious fears are expressed in West European countries and other states in connection with the further development of events in the Baltic region."

The processes now taking place in the political life of the Soviet Baltic region are being discussed actively in the world press. They are very often misinterpreted. And the position of the Soviet leadership, in particular the well-known CPSU Central Committee Statement, is misrepresented with particular tenacity. Strenuous efforts are made to divert attention from the main point in this document—the appeal to the peoples of the Soviet Baltic region to understand and sense the full depth and reality of the disaster that looms and to show responsibility and wisdom at this turning point in the history of the whole country.

They also keep quiet about the fact that the ordinary people of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia are not equated with the leaders of separatist movements, and that there is no intention of characterizing all national movements in the Baltic region as extremist and nationalist. And they ignore the fact that many Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians themselves are seriously troubled by the situation that has taken shape and seek a reasonable way out of this situation. And responsibility and wisdom are dictated by life itself at the present extremely complex stage in our country's development. Let us touch on just one aspect of this question.

In recent years profound qualitative changes have taken place and are still taking place in the world situation, opening up exceptionally favorable prospects for mankind. For 45 years the most sensitive continent—Europe—has not known the horrors of war. Of course, the nuclear arsenals are still full, but the process of physically destroying these lethal weapons has already begun: the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is in force. The walls of distrust and suspicion are breaking down. [passage omitted]

If Europe has now been without war for 45 years, that is due largely to the fact that the territorial realities established as a result of World War II are observed.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proclaims: "The participating states regard as inviolable each other's borders, and also the borders of all states in Europe; and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from any encroachment on those borders.

"They will also refrain correspondingly from any demands or actions aimed at the occupation or usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating state."

The present borders in Europe are an all-European asset, and there can hardly exist on the continent any responsible political forces that could consciously seek to violate them. Because that would be dangerous to the whole of Europe, and furthermore to the entire system of the postwar structure of the world.

This, I think, is one reason why the actions of nationalist, separatist forces in the Soviet Baltic republics are greeted with alarm in Western Europe and elsewhere. "History," SVENSKA DAGBLADET warns, "knows few examples of changes in borders and the reshaping of states taking place by peaceful means."

Europe's present period of peace was hard-won. And she has no intention of risking it. The distinguishing feature of our time is the intensification of integration processes, which are gathering speed, in particular, in Western Europe. Separatism and national egotism go against integration trends in economics and politics.

Does this mean that the separatist actions in the Baltic republics meet with no response in Western countries, that there are no forces there that dream of the disintegration of the Soviet federation and the weakening of our state? Of course there are such forces. But at the same time they are worried about one thing: Are the nationalist leaders in Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia exposing their objectives too much, will their aggressiveness frighten many Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians who watch the developing events with anxiety? The Canadian

newspaper CITIZEN notes: "The main worry for the leaders of the nationalist movement in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (especially Latvia) is that they are losing the battle for Western public opinion..."

History confirms that a separatist movement often leads to a situation where national interests ultimately fall victim to the policy of powerful outside forces that regard small peoples as pawns in their "game" of chance. The current fuss in the NATO 'well-wishers' camp is no accident. Various foreign organizations and centers are engaging in energetic activity, pushing their own "consultants" onto nationalist groupings in the Baltic region. "Advisers" with diplomatic passports have appeared on the horizon. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR asserts: "American diplomats have recently begun to travel more frequently to the Baltic republics on the quiet, officially on the pretext of consular ties." It is naive to assume that such envoys care about the interests of the Baltic peoples. These "zealots" have something else on their mind.

The flareup of nationalism and separatism in the Soviet Baltic region is also causing concern in realistically minded Western circles because they are aware that these machinations are aimed not only at undermining the foundations of Soviet statehood and wrecking perestroyka in the USSR. At the same time they constitute an attack on the relaxation of international tension, since the success of Soviet perestroyka means success for the cause of further normalization of international relations.

Warnings can be found in Western publications today, to the effect that this unscrupulous game and the support for it from outside could be damaging to the West, because one result of it could be the destabilization of the situation in Europe.

In our interconnected world, stability in each individual state is an important factor in general international stability. That is even more true when it comes to a state like the Soviet Union. Precisely because the USSR was the pioneer of perestroyka in the system of international relations on the basis of the new political thinking, Soviet people cannot remain indifferent if actions that undermine the foundations of our society multiply in any given region of the multinational Union.

It cannot be denied that national problems are exceptionally complex. But they can be resolved, especially in conditions where the CPSU has put forward a broad platform for resolving them on the basis of the realization of the aspirations and desires of all our country's nations and ethnic groups taking into account the higher state interests of the Motherland.

In accordance with the decision of the 35 states that took part in the Vienna meeting, the third Conference on the Human Dimension is to open in Moscow on 10 September 1991. We ourselves strove insistently to ensure that this conference would be held in our capital. Can we really allow it to be overshadowed by interethnic disputes in our society? Is it not time that, guided by reason and goodwill, we acquired the strength and capability to put an end to national extremism and provide scope for internationalism combining growing attention to the peoples' national interests with the defense of common human values? That time has come.

## Vorotnikov Skeptical of RSFSR Financial Autonomy

*LD0309143689 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 2 Sep 89*

[Final installment of four-part interview with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov;date, place not specified; first three installments were published in the 6 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 68-71 ]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we will now broadcast the last part of an interview given to our special correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The switching of the Russian Federation to financial autonomy is to be discussed.

[Begin recording] [Terekhov] The most important question: Will Russia manage to switch to financial autonomy by 1991, as is planned by the USSR government?

[Vorotnikov in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] I think that to switch the entire republic to financial autonomy is not realistic at all. We cannot switch to financial autonomy at the same time in 71 regions, Moscow and Leningrad. This is utopian. And I do not know if there could be any wise man found in the union who could say that Russia can introduce financial autonomy quicker. This is either a failure to understand the problem or an international attempt to describe the Russian organization and Russian leadership as conservative and as not wishing to tackle questions of financial autonomy. This is not so. At least 3 to 4 years ago we began preparing ourselves for regional financial autonomy as well as beginning experimenting. Nevertheless, many comrades from the scientific circles do not simply wish to know anything about it, I do not know why. To work out the model of financial autonomy for the whole of Russia is clearly an extraordinarily complicated matter. This is because there are regions very different from each other on our territory. For example, there are a group of regions which are predominantly industrial or on the other hand agricultural; and our northern regions are in fact living on subsidies. Each region needs to prepare its own model; and to create such a model for the Sverdlovsk region is three times more complicated than in the case of Estonia. One needs to understand this. Nevertheless, such a model has been already worked out for the Sverdlovsk region, after all. The drafts were prepared and put forward and we think that during the 1990's we will be able to carry out the

transition to regional financial autonomy in the Sverdlovsk region, [name indistinct] and Moscow. Though in Moscow it is going slowly so far.

[Terekhov] And why?

[Vorotnikov] The difficulty lies in the fact that every district of Moscow can be compared with a big region or a small republic. In my view, the most important thing is not to announce the transition and create some sort of model on a big scale which would be worked out in detail and then would collapse. This used to happen before and not just once. We reached decisions quickly but consequently became clear that they were out of touch with reality and not worked out in enough detail.

I think that it is not necessary to give examples at this time. We consider that the most important thing is that financial autonomy originate from the ranks. If our enterprises switch to total financial autonomy, then gaining regional financial autonomy will be easier. If we try to introduce financial autonomy from above, by force, then even if it were scientifically based it would be of little benefit if it would not penetrate all the levels.

Financial autonomy is not being introduced for its own sake but in order to bring benefit, economic benefit, qualitative benefit. For us it is more difficult to do work which requires joint efforts of science, concentration of science, because we do not have our own Academy of Sciences in our republic. Nevertheless, we will follow this method. Very active work in this direction is being carried out in Leningrad, [name indistinct], Stavropol, Kuibeshev, and other regions. Once they are prepared, we will gradually switch them to financial autonomy.

There is yet another problem: Under present conditions we cannot switch to total financial autonomy, because our biggest raw material sectors are being subsidized. How is it possible? It is surely not right. We are getting into conflicts with the world market and even with wholesale prices within the country. A total variance exists here. That is why we first have to coordinate wholesale prices—wholesale prices, not retail prices. I spoke about this at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless, those who [words indistinct] disentegration seemed not to listen to it properly.

We cannot adopt a decision now to transfer all the union organizations to the republic's authority and consequently build relations with other partners on the basis of a wide range of parameters and goods. In such a case we would have to switch to a price level at least close to those of the world market and tackle the problem of the convertibility of the ruble too. And on the whole, there is a need to put in order all credits and the whole financial system. This has to be done though in the entire country, not only in Russia. If we do it only in Russia, then it would mean putting many republics in an extremely difficult situation.

An economist—I do not recall who he was exactly, I think he was [name indistinct]—took the floor during a Supreme Soviet session and said in this context: If you are going to sell oil, natural gas, and other sorts of raw materials for world prices, then we are not going to buy them, we will have to use bicycles or walk. Nevertheless, these are only words. In fact, doing without raw materials is in reality unthinkable. They are necessary for us; and the principal raw material sources are in Russia.

[Terekhov] Some people fear that the concept of financial autonomy is based on retaining present raw material prices, which would mean that the republics which have adopted financial autonomy would make big profits thanks to processing of raw materials, while suppliers of raw materials would profit little as a consequence of unstable prices.

[Vorotnikov] This is surely unjust—unjust from economic, scientific, moral, and other points of view. It is not possible to use present defects to gain advantages not deserved through work. It is not possible to start from the mere fact of the production of final products. After all, what matters are not just raw materials but also many other materials, such as metal and the elementary electronic components, as well as various radio systems—all these things mostly come from Russia.

[Terekhov] Eighty percent of the hard currency we earn is thanks to Russian enterprises, right?

[Vorotnikov] Yes, yes.

[Terekhov] If this is the case, then other republics will not have enough hard currency will they?

[Vorotnikov] It seems that such an assumption is correct. Nevertheless, at present the situation is exactly the contrary. Some republics do not pay attention to the financial situation; they sign agreements, decide by themselves about the extent of hard currency agreements, and then they approach the foreign commercial bank and cash thier invoices there. If all of us follow such a path now, we will devastate our country totally and our debts will increase still further. That means that the budget deficit will not be R120 million, as is now, but will be bigger.

That is why we think that the questions of the political and other institutions of Russia and the questions of financial autonomy should be tackled parallel to each other. We officially presented documents to the Central Committee and government in which we explain how we see the problem of extending the sovereign rights of Russia, both in the sphere of policy and the sphere of social and economic affairs. [end recording]

[Announcer] Esteemed listeners, we have broadcast the interview given to our special correspondent by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

### Zaykov Attends Moscow City Day Festivities

*LD1009213989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Excerpt] City Day was held in Moscow today. The festival began on Red Square, at the Lenin mausoleum and the grave of the unknown soldier, and wreaths were laid from the Moscow city party committee and the Moscow city soviet. Taking part in the solemn ceremony were Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, representatives of party, local soviet and economic bodies and of the public of the city, servicemen of the city garrison and war and labor veterans. [passage omitted]

### Kirghizia Publishes Draft Election Law

*LD0709113889 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 7 Sep 89*

[Text] Frunze September 7 TASS—Kirghizia published a new draft law on elections today.

People's deputies to all bodies of power are elected on the basis of a universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, the document says.

On reaching 18 years of age, all citizens are entitled to vote, and those reaching 21 can stand for election. There are no ethnic, educational or residential qualifications in the draft law. Only mentally-ill people pronounced incapable in court and prisoners are excluded from voting.

There are some 80 nationalities living in Kirghizia and ethnic Kirghizis account for a little more than half of its population.

A democratic electoral law will enable all the people to take an active part in governing the republic, its authors believe.

### Kazakh State Committee Chairman Appointed

*LD0109155289 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 2305 GMT 15 Aug 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has decreed the appointment of Comrade Amangeldi Imanakish-ogly Bektemisov as chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

### Voronin Discusses Consumer Goods, Strikes

*LD0709221489*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 on 7 September broadcasts a program on problems in the consumer goods sector, presented by Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy and featuring L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, V.I.Ogarok, deputy chairman of the planning and budget financial commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of ministers and chairman of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on military-industrial issues, and K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade.

Voronin starts by explaining that the shortages of consumer goods are caused not by falls in production but by the fact that monetary incomes are increasing faster than increases in output. A large quantity of imported goods will soon go on sale, he adds. Terekh confirms that there are some R100 billion in circulation which are not backed up by goods. Some shortages are unjustified, he says. There is quite enough washing powder produced but there is panic buying.

Ogarok says the position can be improved only by putting the whole economy in order.

Belousov replies to questions on the consumer goods to be produced by the conversion of military production facilities.

Replying to viewers' questions Voronin remarks: "Viktor Nikolayevich Medvedev, Ivan Ivanovich Malnin, and a number of other comrades ask me questions about prices and about monetary reform. First of all, allow me to reply that in the next few years—the next 2 or 3 years—it will not be possible to carry out a reform of retail prices until we have stabilized the situation on the consumer goods market. This has been stated by the leaders of our party and government."

On the subject of shortages of foodstuffs, the participants agree that more storage and processing equipment is needed to reduce losses.

Terekh says it is disgraceful for school exercise books to be in short supply.

Voronin replying to viewers' questions says: "Vladimir Konstantinovich Denisov from Moscow, Comrade Cherevnykh from Kiev, and Vladimir Vyacheslavovich Gerst are worried about whether there will be a devaluation of money, a change of money. People fear rumors. There are rumors circulating that the money will be changed. I shall reply clearly and precisely: There is no need to fear. There will be no devaluation. We are not going to change the money.

"I have received a whole series of notes about our losses, the losses to the national economy as a result of strikes. Of course, in our system strikes are no way to solve issues and all the strikes which have taken place have caused serious damage to the national economy. If some people somewhere have received some advantages, on the whole the national economy has lost hundreds of millions of roubles. We have had a shortfall of 7 million tonnes of coal. Today our metallurgical combines are working from hand to mouth because the situation with coking coal is very difficult since it is precisely this which has been lost. We have serious losses. It is enough for me to say that about 1,000 trains, each with 60 to 100 wagons,

have been abandoned simply because of the strikes in Moldavia and the Transcaucasus."

After replying to questions about exports of consumer goods, Voronin goes on. "There have been questions about comrade Shmelev's proposal. Sergey Dmitriyevich Mikhalchenko asks whether our government intends to take out a loan in foreign countries against our gold reserves and saturate our market with goods. I can say the following: A concern has been set up in France for trading with us. There have been proposals from a whole range of well- established firms with which we are working in this direction. Of course, we are working today to ensure that our gold reserves remain intact so that we remain the mighty country we are considered in the world and do not permit the position which has occurred with a number of countries. But we are working on these issues. As far as concerns comrade Shmelev, he is abroad at present. I telephoned him a few days ago. When he returns I would like to meet him and examine in detail what could be used from his suggestion directly in our work."

Terekh describes efforts being made to ensure a fair distribution of goods throughout the country. Belousov reassures a viewer that conversion of defense industries will not damage the country's security. Ogarok tells of measures being taken to combat speculation in goods in short supply. Voronin talks of efforts to ensure that cheap goods continue to be produced. Belousov tells of plans to increase sales of cars and spare parts. Ogarok replies to a question on sales of building materials. Terekh replies to a question about credit sales.

## Commission Probing 1939 Protocols Criticized

*LD0109175489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 23 Aug 89*

[R. Jakutyte report]

[Text] A commission set up by the Soviet parliament [to investigate the events of 1939-40 and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, with its secret protocols] did not manage to publish any conclusions other than the date of the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, despite the fact that this commission was set up earlier than the republican one. What is more, there has been a split in the commission and the task of publishing the secret protocol of this conspiracy in PRAVDA has not been carried out. Here is what Zita Slicyte, a lawer from Klaipeda, USSR people's deputy, and member of the commission, has to say:

[Begin Slicyte recording] The last sitting of our commission took place on 19 July. After heated debates and the explicit voicing of opinions, a decision was reached by a majority vote:

1. To publish in PRAVDA by 5 August this year the nonaggression treaty signed by the USSR and Germany on 23 August 1939.

To point out at that although the original of the secret protocol has not been found, existing copies and other documents probably confirm that a secret protocol of this content was signed at that time.

The aim of publishing the text of the secret protocol in PRAVDA was not only to acquaint the public at large in the USSR with this criminal conspiracy that up until now was not known to most people, but also to become a reliable proof that de-Stalinization is taking place in the USSR.

2. The commission agreed unanimously that in compliance with international legal norms, the nonagression treaty has been invalid since 22 June 1941, i.e. since the moment Germany attacked the USSR. In any case, the secret protocol should have been denounced since the moment it was signed because international agreements reached by two states which are directed against other sovereign and independent states not party to the agreements canot be considered legal. Another reason is that the secret protocol was not ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This means that when Molotov asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to ratify the nonagression treaty, he did not mention that he had a secret protocol, as well.

We hoped that the commission's decision would become known to the nations of the USSR. Unfortunately, neither the text of the secret protocol nor the commission's conclusions concerning the protocol's legality and validity have reached the all-union reader yet.

On 9 August, a group of commission members gathered again at the Estonian representation in Moscow to discuss further action.

It was decided to sent a telegram of address to the honorable Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We indicated in the telegram that the publication of the documents prepared by the commission had been delayed, that each day of silence worked against us, and that even the wisest decision loses its importance if taken too late. The telegram was signed by ten people's deputies who are members of the commission.

However, no answer has been received yet. Instead of an answer, an interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, chairman of the commission, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and member of the Politburo, appeared in PRAVDA on 18 August.

Although our highly esteemed chairmen indicated in his interview that a secret protocol had been signed, this cannot serve as a substitute for the publication of the very text of the protocol. Without knowledge of the protocol's content not many people can become interested in demonstrations about the fact that not only was the nonagression treaty signed but some kind of protocol, as well. This is a very important point.

The commission's decision to publish the very text of the secret protocol in PRAVDA was substituted by an interview with the chairman of the commission, who said that such a secret protocol had been signed. In addition, the honorable commission chairman, the esteemed A. Yakovlev agreed on 19 July that the secret protocol should have been recognized as illegal and void since the moment it was signed. However, during his interview he demonstrated that the protocol became invalid on the first day of World War II that there were no consequences of the secret protocol, and that the legal and political status of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had not been determined by the treaty and the secret protocol, but by certain other circumstances. The honorable Aleksandr Yakovlev also maintained that if the secret protocols are recognized as having been invalid since the moment they were signed, then we would recognize that the war itself did not take place.

A clear, logical mistake is hidden in this conclusion. The factual situation is being confused with the legal evaluation of such a situation. If we carry on reasoning in this manner, we will arrive at such absurdities as, for example, that an agreement to kill or rob somebody is valid and legal because it has been carried out! Any agreement that runs counter to international or other juridical norms is invalid from the moment it is concluded. Such agreements are regarded as worthless by the law.

However, during the sittings of the commission one could see that one is afraid to state one's opinion in Moscow when the discussion concerns legal assessment of the secret protocols to the 23 August 1939 nonagression treaty between the USSR and Germany. The honorable Yakovlev, himself, has caused a split in our commission by giving this interview for the newspaper PRAVDA, although right from the first days the agreement was that the commission would try to reach a unanimous opinion. So now, Estonians—I spoke to them on Monday—have a document already signed by 15 members of the commission the conclusions stated in which run counter to those voiced by honourable chairman in his interview.

On 23 August, the document prepared by our commission and the names of the deputies who signed it will be pubished by the Estonian central newspapers and the informal press. The situation, therefore, creates the concern that it is not the commission, but the second Congress of People's Deputies that will decide what conclusions should be made concerning the USSR-German treaty of 23 August 1939 and its secret protocol. An act of legal significance will be adopted by the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. [end recording]

## United Front Official Discusses Rules, Platform

*LD1209041189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] [Announcer] We have already reported that the first, the founding congress of the United Front of Working People of Russia has taken place in Sverdlovsk. Today we have an opportunity to invite to our microphone (Mikhail Vasilyevich Popov), doctor of philosophical sciences. He is from Leningrad and a member of the Coordinating Council of the United Front of Working People of the USSR. As far as I know, you also participated most actively in the congress of the Front of Working People of Russia, is that right?

[Popov] Indeed, I was even on the working presidium, but the presidium also consisted of four workers and they managed the business much better than I, so I was unemployed there.

[Announcer] What are the most important things in the front's rules, in its platform?

[Popov] The rules of the United Front of Working People of Russia say that the United Front of Working People is a union of workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia, nonparty members and Communists, pensioners and young people, united in a struggle for improving the life of all working people, the entire people. The rules lay down its social tasks. Number one is to insure the unity of our society. In conditions when we see tendencies toward national differences and all sorts of centrifugal tendencies, we are in favor of the closest unity of the working people of every nationality.

[Announcer] In what ways do you propose to strive for this?

[Popov] I think that, first and foremost, one must not put any people in the position of second-class people. This means equally in horizontal and vertical actions, which is what some of our departments do. That is why we are going to struggle against departmental parochialism, against bureaucratism, against careerism, against corruption. This, you see, requires not declarations, but raising the broadest masses of the working people for this struggle and teaching them to manage.

[Announcer] In your opinion, how wide is the support enjoyed by the front and its numerous organizations now? They were initially created in individual oblasts and cities.

[Popov] As soon as we sent out the invitations to take part in the founding congress, we started to get applications from the most diverse regions, including Kamchatka and Petrozavodsk. The most diverse, very interesting people came, and they gathered irrespective of their posts, of whether they were professors or workers, engine drivers or engineering and technical specialists, directors or party committee secretaries. In the presidium, for example, there was a representative of the workers' committee and a secretary of the party committee from the Butovskaya mine, who started the strike in Kemerovo.

[Announcer] Right, and how did our people's deputies react to the movement's congress?

[Popov] I must say that the people's deputies reacted in two ways. Some came to the working people and participated in that joint work. Veniamin Aleksandrovich Yarin, USSR people's deputy and a Supreme Soviet deputy, sat in the presidium of the congress and took part in organizing it. Other deputies also spoke and came to our congress, but there was an attempt to hold a separate meeting from us at that very time and that appeared to me as not a very nice action to take, but I think that that is not what matters.

I would like to say that the plenum discussed the most critical issues, above all economic ones. It was the issue of reorienting the economy from profit at any cost, which is what gives rise to price increases, toward labor savings and price cuts, so that people get bonuses for price cuts rather than for increases. That is why the decisions of the Sixth All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions Plenum, which spoke about the struggle against price increases and which set the task of setting the workers of state enterprises and cooperatives on an equal footing, were supported.

[Announcer] That is something I wanted to ask you about. How are your relations with the trade unions shaping up? Judging from everything, you have found a common language.

[Popov] I think that we found the common language precisely because the working class has shown its involvement. The working class has shown that today you have to choose: Either you are with the working people, or with the bureaucrats; either you are above the people, or you serve them. I think the trade unions have made their choice.

[Announcer] Thank you. I would like to thank you for taking part in our program.

## Experts Call Gorkiy Nuclear Station 'Safe'

*LD0109200789 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—A nuclear heat supply station under construction in the city of Gorkiy on the Volga will continue to be built after International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) experts, invited to decide the fate of the project following protests by concerned local people, ruled it safe.

The 14 independent, highly-qualified experts inspected the facility after scrutinising its design and building plans in Moscow institutes, Georgiy Kaurov, head of the public information centre on atomic energy, told TASS.

This was the second visit by the expert group to the USSR, who came here first last June to begin the work.

The experts, led by American Michael Hayden, come from 13 countries, including Britain, Spain, France, Canada, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Finland.

Kaurov said that their total length of service at the world's nuclear power plants amount to 250 years.

Meeting Gorkiy station personnel, they made suggestions for construction improvements and gave advice on future work.

The experts leave the Soviet Union today, but will come to Moscow again in November or December to submit a report on their completed work.

## Problems of Proposed Law on Foreign Travel Cited

*18001568 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Aug 89 p 9*

[Article by Aleksandr Istomin and Sergey Vashurin: "Who Will Go Abroad?"]

[Text]**On 22 July, a briefing took place at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], during which Chief of UVIR [Administration of Visas and Registrations] R.A. Kuznetsov spoke. He described a new draft law regulating and greatly simplifying the processes of the system of exiting the USSR and entering the USSR.**

In the Moscow city UVIR, where we asked to share our ideas on the presented draft, they took our request with restraint. And this is why. No one has yet seen the full text of the draft; the session of the Supreme Soviet has not yet considered it, and it is not yet known in what form it will be confirmed. And some people are already coming to UVIR with newspaper in hand to demand immediate permission to travel abroad in accordance with the new directives.

But at UVIR we also learned about what has been done even without new regulations. In 1987, the administration examined 47 percent more petitions for exit to capitalist countries than in 1986, and in 1988, 3.5 times more than in 1987, and in 1989, the pace has increased even 3.2 times by comparison to 1988.

The Moscow UVIR is already issuing general civil foreign travel passports for a 5-year period; they remain in the bearers' hands, and only a notation is made about this in the internal passport.

All this is heartening, but it also leads to reflection. The thing is, that in this sphere of our life, political changes have overstepped their economic provisions by far. Yes, we speak of hard-currency provisions for trips, but not only about that. It is practically impossible to purchase an airplane or train ticket. Speculation is growing—they say that for flights to the United States, you have to place in your passport at least an extra R200, sometimes more, for the cashier.

Listen to what people who went to apply for their trips at UVIR are talking about. Not about Prague's museums or Berlin's TV tower; not even about their relatives or friends who invited them. In the majority of cases, it is

an exchange of experience: The most advantageous way to exchange money, what to take in and out and how to do it.

However sad it is, the majority of people do indeed travel abroad in order to bring something in. And that is not their fault. And in any case, if the law is accepted, the stream of those leaving will grow. And that means that "prices" for tickets will grow; contraband hard currency will grow. All of these issues should be decided not at the UVIR, but by other concerned services. And the question involuntarily arises, is it really necessary to hasten an event which can exacerbate an already difficult situation in the country? The new law is undoubtedly necessary. But without the appropriate practical provisions, it could turn into a simple declaration, adding nothing to real human rights.

### Council of Ministers Adopts Travel Decision

*LD0309064789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision on improving the order of traveling abroad on business matters. The aim of the introduction of the new order is to increase the efficiency of foreign business assignments, to simplify the procedure of dispatching specialist delegations abroad, and to extend the rights and strengthen the responsibility of organizations sending people on business assignments.

### Internal Affairs Ministry Holds Conference

*PM0309173189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Aug 89 First Edition p 2*

[TASS correspondent N. Demidov report: "Investigators Deliberate"]

[Text] What kind of investigation department do we want? How can its independence and effective work be ensured? The problem has still not been solved, and the situation in the country remains as tense as before. And investigation needs to take its place as quickly as possible in fulfilling the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Resolutely Stepping Up the Struggle Against Crime."

This was discussed at an All-Union Conference of Leaders of Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], Internal Affairs Main Administration [GUVD], Internal Affairs Administration [UVD], and UVDT [expansion unknown] investigative organs held 31 August in Moscow. Lieutenant General of the Militia I.F. Shilov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, gave his assessment of the operational situation. Many crimes involve particular cruelty, racketeering is increasing, and the "gray economy," corruption, and speculation are developing intensively. Suffice it to say that recently serious crimes alone have increased by 40 percent.

An analysis of the last 10 years, Major General of the Militia Yu.A. Kukushkin, first deputy chief of the USSR MVD Main Investigative Administration, noted in his speech, shows that each year crime is growing from 2 to 7 percent. The growth of street crime is having a substantial influence on this. And considerable "credit" for this is due to conflicts on an interethnic basis and various unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations.

It is scarcely worth citing other figures characterizing the situation. They are open and well known. One thing is clear: Now the burden on investigators has increased. Suffice it to say that MVD investigators handled 1,185,776 criminal cases in the first 7 months of this year. The residue of unsolved cases by the end of the first 6 months exceeded 250,000. About 405,000 criminal proceedings were suspended in connection with failure to establish the guilty parties.

Many investigators simply cannot bear the burden; hence you get reports about dismissals or breaches of legality. In the last 5 years the number of groundless charges doubled. Of course, not a single breach goes unpunished, but a fact is a fact: The prestige of the profession is falling. Last year 1,200 people joined the MVD investigative apparatus, while the annual requirement is 3-3,500. Today it is 1,887 people short. There is nothing surprising in this if you consider that both investigators' wages and material and technical provision cannot stand up to criticism. Only 19 percent of them are equipped with dictaphones, and investigators have one-fourth of the statutory requirement of vehicles.

But no one has the right to wait passively for the decisions to be adopted. And that includes the investigation department. The number of investigation officers in regions where the situation is most complex has now been increased out of the USSR MVD reserve, and another 1,600 investigators from the MVD and UVD's will soon be sent there. Investigators are beginning to specialize in examining organized crime, investigation apparatuses are being equipped with computer equipment, and in some regions the wage situation is being improved out of the local budget. There is a need, and the conference participants noted this, for the most speedy adoption of a document which would determine the legal status of the investigator and ensure his independence.

Of course, this is not enough to get the investigative apparatus to begin working at full power, but despite all the arguments to the contrary, the situation is clear: We cannot wait any longer.

### Respect for Laws, Civic Duties Emphasized

*PM0309145489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by A. Anikiyev, candidate of economic sciences, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Political Directorate, under the rubric "We Discuss the Nationalities Question": Both Duty and Conscience"]

[Text] In the last year or year and a half my professional service has brought me face to face with manifestations

of irrational, blind savagery and intolerance on the part of neighbors who only yesterday were amicably working side by side. Refugees, people who have been burned out of their homes, orphans—as the 20th century approaches its end we have encountered in our country phenomena contradicting general human spiritual values.

In parallel with this we have heard voices accusing the very concept of perestroyka, saying "that's what happens when the people are let off the leash." Obviously you can't avoid such extremes given the dynamizing processes of perestroyka. The point is that these extremes, coming together, sometimes create an unfavorable political backdrop giving rise to legal nihilism, which in turn leads to negative social manifestations.

We have witnessed this in the Transcaucasus, Novyy Uzen, Fergana.... The situation has also become inflamed in a number of other republics. It is clear that it is politically stupid and naive to rely solely on strong-arm solutions and counter these processes solely with a few given USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] subunits. But it is no less naive to assume that in an unusual critical situation you can manage without this force. For any sensible person realizes that if USSR MVD internal troop subunits were to leave a number of trouble spots today, something irreparable would happen there. It seems to me that it is legitimate today to put the question another way: **What needs to be done to ensure that these subunits can carry out their functions without contradicting the processes of glasnost and democratization?**

Moreover, today we are rightly and very pointedly raising the question of why local—republic—MVD subunits are sometimes limp in carrying out their constitutional duty, attempting to offload the solution of key, fundamental problems onto union-level organs.

In this sense the draft party platform seems highly promising to me because it gives the answers to many questions. I am referring first and foremost to the extremely clearly defined correlation between the priorities of union and republic laws. For separatist trends and ideas of ethnic isolation imply a destructive legislative policy, primarily in the field of criminal legislation. (Nationalism in general is a convenient screen, since a common lout who assaults a woman, old person, or child belonging to another nationality is placed above the law, as it were—and thus above general human and general state morality—by ordinary people who should know better).

It is bitter to say it, but in a number of republics we have come up against a situation where servants of justice, playing up to public opinion of this kind, have essentially connived with extremists of the basest sort. And it can be confidently said that the sorrow and pain of our fellow citizens who have become the victims of extremism are to a certain extent on the conscience of these time servers of the legal system.

A unified legal policy in the sphere of national relations—and in my view the idea of such a policy stems from the very essence of the draft party program!—is an inescapable element if we are to move forward. The problem is guaranteeing compliance with it.

Institutions of authority are identified in the public mind first and foremost with the militia—it is armed, it has a certain amount of equipment, and in the final analysis it is structured on the principle of subordination: The chief gives an order and the subordinate has to carry it out. In a society built on administrative-edict principles, this was pretty close to the truth. Today everything is more complex. There is also the factor of the party committee's influence—that is, political, ideological power. There is also the factor of the growing power of the soviets. And of informal movements.... And what about the power of the prosecutor's office and the courts? Or the power of public opinion, the press, television, radio? Here we come up against a highly complex and theoretically highly interesting philosophical problem: Power during a turning-point period in history. But interesting and unique though this problem may be, are we entitled to place the burden for solving it on rank-and-file militiamen, internal troops troopers, or lieutenants who find themselves face to face with extremists, sophisticated demagogues, or political charlatans? Especially if the party committee secretary avoids making a direct evaluation of events, the prosecutor's office for its part avoids making decisions, and the courts impose the "minimum"—a R20 fine—on a hooligan who sets fire to the state flag.

Experience suggests that all society's attempts to shift the burden of the struggle against various mass antisocial phenomena onto the man in the front line are futile. The basis of successful activity on his part is the sum total of positive political decisions. But while this sum total is still at the formative stage, he has the right to count on clear political assessments, ideological guidance, and support.

I am sure that the draft party platform encouraged many people precisely by virtue of its clarity and the unequivocal nature of the prospects outlined. But today, after the difficult events in the Baltic region that gave rise to the warning CPSU Central Committee statement, and with the complex events in Moldavia in full swing, it is becoming clear that forces exist for which this draft came as a kind of "political downgrading," because it proved at the same time more radical and more constructive than their own isolationist drafts and models. Does this not mark the start of a patent stepping up of their activity? This can be judged, for instance, from the "density" of the "radical" slogans they have put forward in recent weeks, which are sometimes deliberately offensive to their neighbors in the common multinational home. It is also indicated by the trips by envoys of various kinds from republic to republic, their speeches abroad, and their provocative statements in the "independent" press. And this artificial fermentation process, this semblance of productive political activity by the

leaders of various movements contains considerable destructive potential. Experience suggests that verbal intolerance (especially among young, immature people) inevitably gives way to intolerance in action. I cannot regard as harmless the burning of newspapers that displease you, the burning of soldiers' uniforms, desecration of state symbols, flags, and monuments, the elevation of dubious "heroes," or the daubing of swastikas and racist slogans. After all, this is a kind of subculture of common or garden Nazism.

It is extremely important that a powerful intellectual opposition to this is outlined in the draft party platform. But this intellectual base in turn needs a firm foundation in law enforcement, otherwise we will devalue all the positive ideas contained in the platform. I do not know how other people will interpret the following figure, but I think it testifies eloquently to the danger of a gulf between political and law enforcement realities in the area of interethnic problems. In conflicts on these grounds we have already lost hundreds of our fellow citizens, innocent people, who died in the Transcaucasus, Fergana, Novyy Uzen; internal troops and militia fighters are dying.... Yet the number of people convicted as criminals for kindling national strife, USSR Prosecutor's Office workers indicate, is...one!

I have accumulated a fat file of utterances by newly fledged "leaders" in the squares of various republics: It is a synthesis of anti-Sovietism and racism, antistate propaganda and Russophobia.... And—total impunity. Not one substantial fine, as the law provides: Local prosecutor's offices seem to be deaf while these utterances are made: The courts are silent. And the result—confusion, disorientation for the militia worker and the soldier in the internal troops.

This is indicated by perplexed letters from them: "...Before our very eyes, comrade general, they call on people to attack others purely because they are a different nationality. And we stand there as if nothing was happening.... In any other country a judge would strip the speaker naked for that," a young sergeant wrote to me.

To be frank, this caused me to dig around in foreign legal codes. Indeed, a judge could strip the "shirt from the back" of the provocateur and demagogue: The fines are colossal. And imprisonment is by no means rare. But perhaps that is only on paper, and in reality there is "pluralism of opinion"? Let us look for precedents—there they are! They fine people, sentence them to imprisonment, censure them in the press, because they understand that real democracy has to be protected. They understand that real democracy means the protection of common human moral values, civil rights, and freedoms.

Of course, we still have much to learn in our own sometimes painful progress along the road of democracy. But first we must learn respect for the laws and civic duties. Otherwise "pluralism" for the "chosen peoples," one-sided glasnost, and inactivity on the part of the law, resulting in intolerance whipped up by politickers, could not only retard our progress, but throw us back. Otherwise the rich, long-awaited draft CPSU platform on nationalities policy will remain only a theoretical study—however profound. And the future will not forgive us that.

### Measures To Combat Drug Problem Reported

*LD0509152189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1344 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—There are currently about 122,000 persons registered in the USSR as drug users (including one-time users), of whom nearly 60,000 are suffering from drug addiction. This was reported at a briefing held today at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. As a result of the measures taken to discover persons getting involved in drugs at an early stage, about 13,000 of those on the list stopped using drugs in the first 6 months of 1989. At the same time 1,240 persons suffering from drug addiction who had declined voluntary treatment, were sent for treatment forcibly.

It was noted at the briefing that in spite of a number of positive results achieved in the country recently in the fight against drug addiction and the drugs trade, the efficiency of the measures taken remain insufficient.

With the aim of eliminating the raw plant base and closing off the channels of the illegal distribution of drugs, the USSR MVD is carrying out multitargetted large-scale operations. Thus during the first stage alone of the "Poppy" [mak] operation in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan 1,442 illegal plantations of poppy and hemp were found and destroyed, and 2,700 hectares of wild hemp were eliminated. Nearly 900 kg of drug substances were removed from illegal circulation.

The activity of dealers in the drugs trade which is becoming more and more organized and getting an interregional character, is the source of particular danger, the briefing noted. About 1,200 crimes connected with the sale of drugs have been uncovered in the country as a whole in the first 6 months. At the same time only 15 to 20 percent of drugs are being removed from illegal circulation but the real number of persons making use of them for nonmedical reasons, is about five times more.

### Drunken Youths Riot in Ulyanovsk Oblast

*PM1109142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 89 First Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent N. Senchev report under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Rebuffed"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk—Ulyanovsk Oblast internal affairs organs have resolutely put a stop to hooliganism by

extremist young people in Starokulatkinskiy, Novomalyklinskiy, Nikolayevskiy, and Tsilninskiy Rayons. There have been 28 arrests.

This is seemingly a local incident. But one's attention is inevitably drawn to the following. There was mass fighting soon after the announcement of the well-known USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the intensification of the fight against crime and the creation of corresponding committees. Moreover, there were almost simultaneous riots in the aforementioned rayons, which, clearly, was no accident either.

It transpired that the young people, inflamed by drink, included many outsiders from neighboring oblasts and autonomous republics. The question naturally arises: Was this not a kind of provocation, how resolutely have the militia organs been behaving in this new situation, and have they not been giving up in the face of the rampaging mobs?

An extraordinary oblast party committee bureau session was held in Ulyanovsk hot on the heels of events. Making an approving assessment of the operational actions taken by the militia, the bureau members at the same time made a critical analysis of the reasons behind the riots. Why, for instance, were the hooligans able to obtain motor transportation so easily? The answer is simple: There is virtually no supervision of trucks and even buses in villages and rural settlements. As a rule they are parked at night not in depots but outside apartments and even at the roadside. One other detail of considerable importance. Rural clubs and movie theaters were closed down on the days when the group fighting flared up.

### Leaders Sign Musician Frenkel's Obituary

*PM0109104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Obituary of Yan Abramovich Frenkel]

[Excerpts] Multinational Soviet culture has suffered a major loss. People's artist of the USSR Yan Abramovich Frenkel, a leading figure in the country's musical arts, has died after a long illness. [passage omitted]

[Signed] V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, R.N. Nishanov, Ye.M. Primakov, A.S. Kapto, I.K. Arkhipova, K.Ya. Vanshenkin, R.G. Gamzatov, M.A. Gribanov, A.I. Kamshalov, E.G. Klimov, I.D. Kobzon, Yu.S. Melentyev, M.F. Nenashev, A.N. Pakhmutova, R.I. Rozhdestvenskiy, M.A. Ulyanov, M.G. Fradkin, T.N. Khrennikov, I.D. Shaferan, R.K. Shchedrin.

### Newspaper Reports Bubonic Plague Death

*AU0909141289 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow, Sept 9 (AFP)—A five-year-old girl died of the bubonic plague in Soviet Central Asia last month, the ARGUMENTY I FACTY newspaper reported here Saturday.

This was the second case of the illness in the Soviet Union this year, the paper added.

Sixty-three people from the village where the girl died on August 26, in the region of Makhambetskii of Kazakhstan, were taken to hospital for observation, but later allowed home.

The paper added that cases of bubonic plague still occurred in 14 areas of the Soviet Union, including Siberia, central Asia and the Caucasus.

A total of 23 hospitals and six scientific institutes are equipped to deal with such cases.

According to previously secret statistics, there were 1,037 cases of bubonic plague in the Soviet Union between 1927 and 1936, 415 between 1937 and 1946, 53 between 1957 and 1966 and 33 between 1967 and 1976.

### Switch to 'Winter' Time Scheduled for 24 Sep

*LD1009095389 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT Sep 10 89*

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The USSR State Commission of Single Time and Standard Frequencies reports that the Soviet Union is switching to "winter" time in two weeks. Time will be brought back by one hour all over the Soviet Union at 3:00 a.m. on September 24.

## Economic

### Teamwork, Production Programs To Help Economy

*PM1109125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1*

[Editorial: "What Is the Coming Year Preparing for Us? Program for Improving the Economy"]

[Text] Long before the start of the new year each of us gives some thought to what he has to do in the coming year. It is all the more important for the organs which manage such a huge economy as ours to think about this. The government recently sent the drafts of the USSR State Plan and Budget for 1990 to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The drafts are of an extraordinary nature and are aimed at improving the country's economy and finances.

Complex problems are arising in the path of our perestroyka in the concluding year of the 5-year plan. Finances are off balance—there is more money around than the overall mass of goods. The growth in wages is twice, or, in some places, even three times the increase in

labor productivity. In connection with the depreciation of the ruble, people have less reason with every passing day to work better and produce more good-quality products. Many of the hopes which we were pinning on the radical economic reform are not yet being realized because during the years of transition old and new management methods function in parallel and the obsolete administrative-edict system, which fetters people's initiative and enterprise, has not been fully dismantled in the production sectors.

Glasnost will help substantially to move the obstacles from the new road. A substantially renewed USSR Government has been formed and has begun functioning. It includes competent specialists who are all united by firm allegiance to the ideas of perestroyka. And we hope that the USSR Government will very soon achieve appreciable successes in resolving urgent socioeconomic tasks.

The chief thing now is to fill the consumer market with food and good-quality commodities as quickly as possible. For this, the structure of centralized capital investments is being changed sharply in the new year. Funds for the construction of production projects are being reduced by almost 30 percent. On the other hand, the country will channel substantially more resources into developing the social sphere—into increasing consumer goods production and into sectors which process agricultural products, which will make it possible to reduce losses appreciably and, in the end, to satisfy the consumer demand.

The switch next year from free centralized capital investments to repayable credits obtained by construction workers from the State Bank will also help to improve finances. Instead of the notorious volumes of "assimilated"—that is, spent—funds, the commissioning of projects will be the chief yardstick when assessing the work of trusts. It is precisely completed construction output that will determine the size of the income and the amount of funds channeled into wages.

We must all turn sharply to face up to technical progress—the chief factor in the rapid advance of the economy. In the final analysis, production development programs are only of value when they accelerate scientific and technical progress. And, in actual fact, in nature some sources of riches have already been exhausted and others will soon be exhausted. The people's creativity and scientific and technical progress remain the only inexhaustible things. It is from this source that we must continuously nurture the developing economy. And for this it is necessary, above all, to enhance the prestige of designers, technologists, inventors—all technical innovators.

To make modern enterprises competitive and ensure that they can win more space on international markets next year, they must be given an opportunity, first of all, to enter these markets. How are they to do this if almost all machine-building output is distributed inside the country? It is clear that the 100-percent order frequently acts as a brake on the way to developing particularly profitable exports of machinery and instruments.

We must also remove, at last, another brake—our adherence going back many years to selling raw materials abroad rather than the products of their thorough processing, which are many times more expensive than the initial raw materials. Why does our land of forests sell rough logs cheaply but buy paper at a price six or seven times higher? This is how the acute shortage of hard currency arises.

With the development of production, questions of nature protection are becoming increasingly acute year by year. And, even given the very extreme need for state resources, the country cannot economize on the development of ecologically clean technologies and the installation of purification facilities. On the other hand, the "nationwide struggle" against the construction of enterprises without which it is impossible to transform the life of society must also be sensible. For people now object to the construction of enterprises to produce medicines, to all kinds of power stations, and even to the utilization of the casinghead gases that are burned off in flares on Siberian oilfields.

What is the reason for this total repudiation of the construction of even acutely necessary projects? Some people have fostered the firm certainty that, even if all power stations are halted, their own electric lights will work all the same. The position of certain local party and soviet organs merits a reproach here. While putting complaints to departments with regard to the pollution of nature, those very party committees and local soviets sometimes remain indifferent to the wrecking of the construction of nature conservation projects.

The fate of our programs depends on everyone's diligence, responsibility, and skill, and on the all-possible strengthening of organization and discipline in production and in management. Some people consider this an obsolete truth under conditions of democracy. No government reshuffles and no growth of capital investments will provide the maximum return if we do not all increase the return on our labor, enhance work standards, and become genuine masters in our own work places. Why, for example, are plants so cluttered? Must it really be someone from the center who has to instill order in the shops?

The line of conduct of any collective depends, above all, on party committees. It is time some of them overcame their passiveness and even confusion. Not sit things out in offices but go to the people, react promptly to any change in the situation, really support positive perestroyka processes, and keep ahead of the collective—this is the primary duty of party members. Beneficial changes will come about in our life only when all sections of society move as a single team toward a single goal. The

success of perestroyka and its specific desired results both today and tomorrow, in the coming year, depend directly on this.

## Official Discusses Pros, Cons of 1990 Draft Plan

*PM1109153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[Commentary by V. Romanyuk: "A Program of Urgent Measures"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has completed its elaboration of the draft State Plan and Budget for 1990. The drafts, which are in many respects unusual, indeed one might say extraordinary, have been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination.

"Ah, if only this plan would be implemented!" L. Vid, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], could not help exclaiming at the press conference.

"If only the Supreme Soviet would adopt it!" Academician L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, corrected him.

Let us start with the plan, three versions of which have been devised at the USSR Gosplan. The economy is part and parcel of the processes taking place in society. And if you place the undoubted social reorientation of our national economy on one side of the equation, you have to place on the other side such negative processes as declining state, production, and contract discipline, the growing social and legal vulnerability of working people, the increasing amount of unearned money in the hands of collectives, the destabilizing effect of strikes, and so on.

It is clear that you cannot maintain the economy's social orientation without making additional resources available. The draft plan lays down tough measures to reduce the consumption of metals and energy in generating national income and various financial restrictions—we will talk a little about this later. For the moment let us look at the way our national income is broken down in the draft: 86 percent of the resources will go on current consumption and nonproduction construction and only 14 percent on expanded reproduction. (Four years ago these figures were approaching the wartime budget level of 70 and 30 percent). Compared with this year, expenditure on current consumption and nonproduction construction will increase by 5 percent and expenditure on expanded reproduction will reduce by 17.7 percent.

Exceedingly eloquent figures. They indicate that we are at last destroying the basic stereotype that prompts us to demand tireless work from the people... for the sake of a "bright future." We now see that the best thing we can do for future generations is to create the best possible conditions for our contemporaries.

This is the aim of the draft's major structural change: The increase for group "A" is set at 0.5 percent and for group "B" at 6.7. The latter is more than 13 times greater!

Another change: We began 1989 with a state budget deficit of R120 billion; we are ending it, according to Ministry of Finance estimates, with a deficit of R95 billion. Also a disturbingly large figure. But what about tomorrow? USSR Finance Minister V. Pavlov announced that the planned deficit in the state budget for 1990 is R60 billion. A marked increase in income is not envisaged, but for the first time in many years it will rise faster than expenditure. They have even managed, for the first time, to get by without obtaining loans—in other words, the state did not borrow from its citizens.

"R60 billion is the maximum figure we can allow in present conditions for expenditure over income," Academician L. Abalkin indicated. "Our task is to revolutionize the undesirable processes in the economy and ultimately fix this revolutionary change in the plan as a new trend."

Glasnost is also penetrating the "restricted areas" of planning. For the first time the draft states the amount of currency to be issued in 1990—R10 billion. The finance personnel have taken the wraps off the work of the printing press. But why? Who is going to dispute the fact that controlled inflation is better than uncontrolled, concealed inflation? At any rate, we can all keep an eye on the processes taking place in the economy and the Supreme Soviet can make valid decisions.

The draft plan for 1990 fully reflects the idea of decentralizing planning work. Take investment policy: R112 billion of the R180 billion capital investments are enterprise funds. As for centralized capital investments, tight restrictions have been introduced. The banks have been told to analyze the situation at long-term industrial construction projects and provide direct credits for those where a rapid return can be obtained. As for mothballed facilities, they can be acquired by cooperatives or lessees for their own needs. Any loss-making enterprise can be auctioned, provided it has been taken off state budget subsidies.

Of course, mention must be made of the securities market, which the USSR Finance Ministry has been instructed to set up. The issuing of state loans is part of the program for improving the financial situation. There will be 5-percent loans available to labor collectives and state treasury notes among the population. It is also intended to issue an interest-free loan, backed up by production of scarce goods—washing machines, refrigerators, furniture, and so on—to be paid off in 1993. The idea of issuing a loan on the truck plant under construction in Yelabug has not yet found support, since the creators of the plant have been unable to provide firm guarantees.

As is known, a state order for industrial-engineering products can no longer be set at 100 percent. In fact, only

for consumer goods can it be set at the maximum level—given 100-percent provision of production resources. Some critical items, say, soap and detergents, are backed up by a state order.

The 1990 draft plan still has the development of the material base of the social and cultural sphere as its supporting framework. This year it started to "sway," as was anxiously pointed out by deputies at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The priorities include public health, in particular the development of medical equipment production and purchase of medicines. Then there is the retooling of light industry and the development of capacities for processing agricultural raw materials. Much will be gained from the conversion of defense sectors, which will not only themselves increase supplies of goods for the market but also make available the capacities of civilian sectors serving the defense industry. The plan takes into account budget revenue from cooperatives—R1.25 billion per year—and some other sources of income.

Let us touch on the expenditure part of the budget—it is yet to be discussed at the Supreme Soviet. The question of cotton prices was raised at the first session. The harvest is approaching, but the question has not yet been resolved. The miners' demand came to R2 billion—part of the expenditure has to be borne in 1990. Ecological problems have worsened. How do you assess the loss resulting from the closure of facilities producing mineral fertilizers, detergents, and so on? This has been done in the interests of nature conservation, but it hits the country's economy.

Often, when tackling one set of problems, we unwittingly exacerbate others. We are redirecting resources to social needs—a gratifying situation. But this creates zones of incomplete employment. The Ministry of Transport Construction wins a foreign order worth R600 million. The transport construction workers feel like heroes. But is there not enough to do at home? Meanwhile, in the young Siberian cities, in Nadym, for example, there is a growing danger of unemployment. The draft plan has failed to find a satisfactory solution to the problem, but one must be found.

The question of the development of the socialist market is still unclear. The economic mechanism reveals tiny steps in that direction. But what exactly is preventing the development of a market in the means of production? One could use for this items produced in excess of state orders. Contract output also provides a basis for wholesale trade.

But, by and large, the draft is geared to substantial changes in the economy. It is now up to the legislators. How will they receive the draft?

## Council of Ministers Regulates Exports

*LD0909094589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] Our country's Council of Ministers, in connection with the existing shortages on the internal market, has adopted a decision on measures to regulate the export of consumer goods from the USSR. The document regulates the normative acts in operation earlier which concerned the export of goods by foreign citizens visiting our country as tourists, on private business, and also in transit across the territory of the USSR. The regulatory measures envisaged by the decision come into force from 15 September and are temporary. However, customs establishments are given the right up to 1 October to apply the previous regulations on allowing consumers goods across the border to foreign citizens who entered our country before 15 September.

## Measures Taken to Invigorate Domestic Market

*LD0309165289 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 3 Sep 89*

[Text] The Soviet Union is taking measures to invigorate the home market and cope with inflation. Deputy Minister of Trade Suren Sarukhanov says more than R43 billion have been allocated to buy food and other commodities abroad. Most of the money has already been spent. Major contracts have been concluded with foreign companies for the delivery to the Soviet Union of clothes, footwear, baby food and coffee. This has made it possible to increase the import of goods for the miners of the Donbass, Kuzbass, and Vorukuta coal regions where there were mass strikes recently.

## Abalkin Discusses Economic, Social Development

*LD1209041689 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Restructuring of ownership relations will be the main feature at a new stage of the radical economic reform in the USSR, said Academician Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He spoke at the Soviet-Swedish round table which opened in the Soviet capital today. It discusses questions of economic and social development of the two countries.

Abalkin heading the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on the Economic Reform, noted that a bill introduced for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) provides for formalizing diversity of ownership forms and for opening a way for healthy competition. It is also planned to formalize differences between the ownership of the union as a federation, republican and local, municipal ownership.

The package of documents forwarded by the Soviet Government to parliament also includes bills on land and land tenure, leasing and lease relations and on a single tax system. All of them will be debated at the

second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which will open on September 25. At the same time work is conducted on anti-monopoly legislation as well as laws on joint-stock societies and banks. Academician Abalkin did not preclude a chance for a nation-wide discussion of many projects and studies of various viewpoints and alternatives.

Pointing to the deteriorating economic situation in the USSR, Abalkin noted that the country did not succeed as yet in checking growing negative processes, stabilizing the consumer market and improving the financial situation. In this context he pointed to the special importance of stabilizing the financial situation.

Describing the drafts of the plan and the budget for 1990, compiled by the government, Abalkin noted that these are quite unconventional documents in the nature of the set targets and the scale of what is planned to be done only in one year. For instance it is intended to halve the state budget deficit from 120 billion this year to 60 billion next year. This will be possible only as a result of a substantial change in the principles of financing state outlays, stiffer finance policy and sharp limitations to many types of outlays.

The drafts of the plan and the budget are aimed, above all, at containing the economic growth, financial improvement and social reorientation, Abalkin stressed. Thus the government proposes a 0.5 per cent increase in the production of means of production in 1990 and a 6.7 per cent rise in the output of consumer goods. Extensive structural changes, along with additional measures to contain monetary incomes of population, are called upon to stabilize the economic situation, Academician Abalkin noted.

### MVD Officials Recover Stolen Gold in Yakutia

*PM1109105189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Nugget in Bicycle Inner Tube"]

[Text] Yakutsk—As a result of a complex, thoroughly prepared operation under the leadership of Major of the Militia A. Ekayev, deputy chief of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department [OBKhSS], 3.8 kg of industrial native gold was confiscated at the airport.

... In the presence of witnesses MVD officials discovered a small suitcase. At the bottom of it was a tightly packed bicycle inner tube. Together with experts, OBKhSS officials found numerous nuggets of different sizes in it.

This last instance was one of the keys to solving a highly secret organized crime with the participation of several people in the gold mining enterprises in Yakutia and its neighboring oblasts. Criminal proceedings have been instituted and an investigation has started. The stolen gold, worth more than R300,000, will go into the country's foreign currency reserves.

Last year more than 6 kg of precious metal was recovered by this group of OBKhSS workers.

## Agricultural

### Ligachev Addresses Agricultural Conference

*PM1109135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[Unnamed TASS special correspondent report: "Central Asia and Kazakhstan: Real Food Supply Reserves"]

[Text] Frunze, 8 Sep—The agro-industrial complex in Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan has tremendous potential to fully supply the region's fast-growing population with basic foodstuffs and to boost fruit and vegetable deliveries to the country's food stocks. More efficient utilization of this potential and more active solution of the countryside's social problems provided the topic for a detailed discussion at a seminar-conference held in Kirghizia. Taking part in it were party, soviet, and economic officials; scientists; collective farm [kolkhoz] and state farm [sovkhoz] leaders and specialists; and leaders and specialists from processing industry enterprises in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia.

The seminar-conference was opened by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Reports on work by party, soviet, and economic organs to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions were delivered by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; and K.A. Aslonov, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

The participants in the seminar-conference visited kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises in Kirghizia and studied their work experience in boosting the output of foodstuffs and improving supplies to the population. The republic is basically self-sufficient in foodstuffs thanks to its own production, while a significant proportion of vegetables, fruit, and meat is exported to other regions in the country. At the same time, the growth rate of the output of many foodstuffs is slow in the Central Asian republics.

This region and Kazakhstan play an important role in the unionwide division of labor. Farms in this zone are major suppliers of grain, cotton, other industrial crops, and a significant proportion of fruit, grapes, and vegetables. On the other hand, the zone imports meat and dairy

products, food and feed grain, equipment, mineral fertilizers, fuel, and other materials. This testifies to the close links and interdependence between republics and the country's integrated national economic complex. Interrepublic ties must be strengthened and improved to the utmost in conditions when the party has embarked on a course of enhancing the republics' economic autonomy and their transition to economic accountability. This is highly important. Any breach of these ties could result in grave consequences. It is, moreover, necessary to deepen the social division of labor and make fuller use of the advantages of zonal specialization.

Sh.A. Akmalkhanov, chairman of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences Central Asia Branch; B.I. Poshkus, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food Supplies and Purchases; P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Central Union of Consumer Societies Board; G.K. Pulatova, Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic minister of health; P.A. Polad-zade, USSR first deputy minister of water resources construction; V.P. Denisov, secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee; and others said that efficient utilization of natural and climatic conditions in the southern republics, introduction of economically accountable relations, leasing, contracts, and cooperatives, and improvement of social conditions in the countryside could help to significantly increase the output of agricultural produce there.

The participants in the seminar-conference were addressed by Ye.K. Ligachev. He critically analyzed the work of party, soviet, and economic organs on fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions. It was noted that much is being done, especially in Kirghizia, to improve supplies of foodstuffs for the population. But concerning the region as a whole, the growth rate of the output of agricultural produce here is lagging behind the population growth rate.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that it is very important to skillfully utilize capital investments and to define priority avenues in their utilization. During the current 5-year plan period, for example, the average annual volume of capital investment in the entire package of works in agriculture in Kirghizia increased by 11 percent compared with the last 5-year plan period, and this figure includes a 60-percent increase in the nonproduction, social sphere. This helped to increase the gross output in agriculture by 13 percent, including a 20-percent increase of gross output in stockraising. One single conclusion suggests itself: Where people show greater concern for solving the problems of rural residents' urgent needs and their social, daily life, and production conditions, the yield from production resources is greater.

The Central Committee March Plenum declared that all forms of socialist ownership and economic management are equal. Broad rights have been granted to all categories of farms, and unjustified restrictions on their development have been lifted.

Practice has convincingly shown that economic accountability and leasing make it possible to develop rural working people's initiative. Party committees and economic organs must actively conduct constant and painstaking work to train both kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and lessees and must ensure all the necessary conditions for transition to new forms of economic management, to lease collective cooperatives, cooperative associations, and state-cooperative enterprises.

Personal family farms play an important role in supplying the population with foodstuffs. In the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan they account for around 40 percent of vegetables, over one-half of milk, fruit, and berries, almost one-half of total meat production. Land in Central Asia is, as the saying goes, worth its weight in gold. There are 0.24 hectares of arable fields per capita in the region. But this is not the sole point at issue—land utilization amounts to just one-half of its potential. If the entire livestock herd now being held by citizens personally were to be kept on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the country would have to spend over R40 billion on constructing livestock premises and increase the wages fund in stockraising by almost R3.5 billion each year.

Ye.K. Ligachev drew attention to the need to step up the intensification of agro-industrial complex production and to increase harvest yields and stock unit productivity. The urgent need to meet the food and feed grain requirements of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan's southern oblasts continues unabated. This situation makes it necessary to bring in large quantities of grain from other regions in the country each year. The situation in the development of grain farming must be remedied by significantly increasing corn harvest yields (Kirghizia produces 70 quintals per hectare, neighboring republics produce 30-40 quintals), assimilating intensive technologies, and boosting the skills of grain growers and the economic and moral interest and responsibility of labor collectives.

Work with feed procurement is poorly organized. It is necessary to take measures to remedy the situation. There is still time and opportunities to achieve this.

Cotton growing is one of the main crop farming sectors in the Central Asian region. This sector must also thoroughly tackle the assimilation of crop farming systems, intensive technologies, and mechanization of labor-intensive processes.

Our country is forced to purchase significant quantities of tropical fruit abroad, expending foreign currency resources. And yet many of the products thus purchased can be produced in the Central Asian republics and southern Kazakhstan. Moreover, sizeable quantities of canned fruit and vegetables and confectionery products are still being brought in from other regions in the

country. Republican councils of ministers, soviet executive committees, and economic organs should get down to solving these questions with the utmost responsibility in order to sharply reduce the imports of produce from abroad and shipments from other regions in the country in the immediate future.

The further development of agriculture and of the entire agro-industrial complex in the region depends largely on the way land reclamation problems are resolved and the speed with which errors in the construction and utilization of irrigation systems are eliminated. Savings of water resources constitute the paramount question.

The CPSU Central Committee March Plenum set the task of consolidating the production base of processing sectors and creating a modern food industry in the country, Ye.K. Ligachev said. But the storage and processing base for agricultural produce is developing slowly in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, the capital investments allocated for this purpose are insufficient, and their assimilation is unsatisfactory. Soviets of people's deputies must start specially monitoring the work of creating a base for processing.

The scale and innovative nature of tasks involved in the accelerated development of the agro-industrial complex dictate the need for radical improvement of work with cadres. Often enough, however, there is haste in their selection, inadequately trained casual people are promoted to leadership positions, and this inevitably leads to failures at work and results in high turnover.

Bearing in mind that the country is firmly pursuing a course of enhancing the autonomy of primary links in social production, including contract and lease collectives, it is primarily necessary to reinforce them with enterprising and competent people. Cadre policy in the agro-industrial complex today means strengthening primary links on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and at processing enterprises.

Party organizations in the countryside and rural rayon party committees are now living in tense conditions. Perestroyka is under way in the country, it is necessary to continue actively promoting this process, ensuring the development of internal party democracy and free discussion of questions by Communists and all working people, and taking their opinion more fully into account when making decisions. It is necessary to get out of the offices, to work with the masses wherever they themselves work, live, and rest, in other words to stand next to them, to share their concerns, to influence them, to involve them in the real management of society. To concentrate energy and resources on organizational work to fulfill socioeconomic development plans actually within the labor collectives.

Ye.K. Ligachev said in conclusion:

The party elaborated the policy of perestroyka. Soviet people associate the renewal of socialism with its strengthening and with the revelation of the tremendous potential enshrined in it.

But there are forces which understand perestroyka as something quite different. Namely: the eroding of socialism's foundations, the creation of private property, the development of elemental market forces and a multiparty system, and the destruction of political stability. They slander the CPSU, defame Communists and leaders, and engage in political demagoguery, but do nothing themselves to help to overcome in practice the difficulties that have arisen. For them the worse things get, the better.

Yes, society is undergoing perestroyka, and the party is undergoing perestroyka. There is no alternative to renewal. The problem of the party's unity, the ideological and organizational rallying of its ranks, and the strengthening of ties with the masses are now coming to the fore in this process. It is my profound conviction that this is now the most important political problem. Without the strengthening of party unity perestroyka will be derailed. Is it really permissible for certain Communists to fan interethnic strife and participate in gatherings of an antisocialist, nationalist hue?

Of course, party unity is possible only on the basis of the broad democratization of internal party life, party discipline, and strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism and the requirements of the CPSU statutes.

Much is being said now about compromises. At the same time compromises frequently take the form of unscrupulousness, and a semblance of unity is created. Yes, compromises are necessary and useful, but what is most important is not to concede on the chief, basic component of our policy.

There have been acute interethnic clashes in the Central Asian region. This obliges the oblast and republic party organizations to be extremely attentive to national questions, to take account of the interests of all nationalities and ethnic groups, and to display flexibility and principledness.

It is necessary to conduct constant explanatory work with people and make them aware that, unless there is interethnic concord and friendship of the peoples and efficient work in the economic sphere, at enterprises, in the fields, and in livestock units, the disintegration of the union of Soviet republics is inevitable.

Interethnic clashes strike a blow at the living standards of every Soviet person—including the food supplies of the oblast, the republic, and the country. Interethnic clashes strike a blow at people's personal security. They demand: The socialist state and the central and local organs of power must create all the necessary conditions for their citizens' calm and confident life.

The main areas of the party's work in resolving national problems are contained in the CPSU draft platform on this question.

The task of people's moral education and of eradicating bribe-taking, theft, and crimes of all kinds remains urgent for party organizations. These phenomena are tenacious, and the attitude toward them must be all the more intransigent.

Without conscious discipline and law and order there cannot be democracy or the orderly functioning of the national economy. Persistent, active work on fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum decisions and improving Soviet people's food supplies is the concern of literally the whole country—both the countryside and the city.

Participating in the work of the seminar-conference were I.I. Skiba, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Komsomol Central Committee.

## Scientific

### Cosmonauts Continue 'Mir' Space Mission Tasks

#### Mission 'Proceeding Normally'

*LD1209142289 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—By a TASS correspondent from Mission Control Centre:

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov continue their work aboard the Mir orbital station, in keeping with the flight and maintenance schedule.

Today, they will install and test new modules for the atmospheric water regeneration system, and will have training sessions on the exercise bike and track.

The cosmonauts are continuing astronomical experiments, using the Roentgen international orbital observatory. Research is now focusing on building an image of our galaxy's centre in the Roentgen range.

The flight is proceeding normally, reports and space data indicate. The temperature inside Mir's living quarters is 24 degrees centigrade, atmospheric pressure is 740 millimetres in the column of mercury.

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are feeling well.

#### Cosmonauts Unload Cargo Ship

*LD1109122689 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—TASS special correspondent reports from flight control centre:

A new working week has started on board the "mir" piloted complex. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov will be mostly busy unloading the "Progress-M" cargo ship today. The automatic transport vehicle has delivered to the orbit more than two tons of different cargoes, including equipment and instruments for scientific research, food, water, fuel and other supplies.

The program of astrophysical experiments provides for another cycle of studies of the Scorpion X-1 roentgen source.

According to cosmonauts' reports and telemetric data, the board systems of the piloted complex and functioning normally. Work is continuing according to the approved timetable.

#### Activities, Orbit Reported 10 Sep

*LD1009105589 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent reporting from the mission control centre:

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov have completed reactivating the on-board systems and equipment of the Mir orbital complex.

They have also opened the hatch of the Progress-M automated ferry spacecraft and inspected the cargo. They plan to begin unloading the ferry next week.

In accordance with the extra-atmospheric astronomy research programme, several series of experiments using the x-ray telescopes of the Kvant Module are being carried out from today. An x-ray Scorpion X-1 source has been chosen as the object of observation. The flight of the piloted Mir complex is proceeding normally. The parameters of its orbit are at present as follows:

—maximum distance from the earth's surface—408 km,
—minimum distance from the earth's surface—380 km,
—the period of revolution—92.2 minutes,
—the inclination—51.6 degrees

Cosmonauts Viktorenko and Serebrov are in good health and are feeling well.

#### Cosmonauts Continue Work 9 Sep

*LD0909082689 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission's control centre:

Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov continue their flight on the orbital station Mir for the second day. They are carrying out the complex's scheduled transfer to the manned flight mode. They have re-activated the life-support and temperature control system and have checked the functioning of the radio and television communications and other equipment.

The cosmonauts held several working sessions to observe the central part of the galaxy and map it in a Roentgen project.

The Kvant module telescopes discovered a new Roentgen source in the Swan constellation during the complex's automatic flight in mid-August and registered the source's radiation spectrum which corresponds to a temperature of about 100 million degrees. This is the second astrophysical object opened by the Rentgen (Roentgen) orbital observatory.

Radio talks with the crew and telemetric data are showing that the complex's flight is passing normally.

Both cosmonauts are feeling well.

### 'Mir' Activities Fuel Debate on Space Program

*LD0909144889 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] The latest, current, orbital flight by a Soviet crew has evoked fresh discussions on space problems. The following item deals with these problems well in the mind of many people.

We can only agree with the view expressed in the daily PRAVDA on Friday that there is a declining (?fading, standard) impression among readers and television viewers to space flights since there have been so many of them. Of course for example were this latest crew to fly to Mars entire mankind would follow its progress and hope for another success of earthmen. Anyway Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are now in orbit around the Earth at the Mir station for the next 6 months of hard work.

Should there be coverage in the media, including Radio Moscow? We think listeners have their own view. American newsmen who have just visited the Soviet Baykonur Cosmodrome for the launch of the latest manned spaceship got a satisfactory answer to their questions about the concrete aims of this mission. Here's an opinion of the cosmonaut training center leader, Vladimir Shatalov.

[Begin Shatalov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The mission of this crew is to accept the first research module that will be launched to the Mir station, service it to the maximum, as well as to receive another module and to prepare it for work. The program is even too intensive. [end recording]

Vladimir Shatalov spoke in brief, but only specialists can estimate the scale of the work to be done. As we see it Aleksandr Viktorenko was more clear when he said we're flying to space because this path cannot be blocked. The Earth must have a constant patrol in orbit, regardless of the nation sending it. The effectiveness of such expeditions in the next few years will add to the new developments in many branches of technology and engineering, health care, ecology, communications, and the science of information.

Today having done quite well in space the Soviet Union is lagging behind in many other fields. Should we abandon our space program and channel the funds to say agriculture? By the way this question was discussed early in the summer by the first Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. At times passions are running high in the debate on this point. But let's recall that progress has always been accompanied with a hullabaloo by conservatives. Yet science cannot develop on resolutions of public rallies and unofficial organizations. Even as we tackle the pressing tasks of perestroyka now we should keep it in mind we are part of the human civilization and contribute to its development.

Difficult as it might be today we ought to remember the future of the nation and the people. That is probably the basis of the Soviet space program.

### "Project 2005" Offers Solar Energy Improvements

*18660203 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 p 4*

[Article by Colonel M. Rebrov, editor of the KZ Science, Technology and Cosmonautics Department: "Cosmonautics, Year 2005]

[Text]**They, or rather "Project 2005," were discussed at the expanded meeting of the collegium of the Ministry of General Machine Building. Scientists, builders, economists, Gosplan workers, industrial managers, military officials, and journalists met in the hall. Several hours of lively conversation, arguments, unexpected questions, and alternative judgments led to getting a feel for the future, gaining an understanding of "a program to create a cosmic technology for purposes of science and peoples' economy for the period up to the year 2005," balancing expectations and realities, pondering the purposefulness, and becoming convinced of the necessity.**

One can talk on two levels about cosmonautics in the third millennium: the level of dreams and the level of optimistic expectations. Dreams do not live in shackles. But today they are formed along the lines of contemporary realities and economic purpose. And therefore in cosmic matters one cannot do without naturalized words like "balances" and "imbalances," "debit" and "credit," "active" and "passive." The importance of the calculating approach (in the widest sense of the word) is emphasized by the fact that very significant scientific and financial assets are concentrated in the field of cosmonautics.

We live surrounded by an enormous number of problems which constantly remind us of themselves. Thus there is a large socio-economic demand for cheap sources of energy, cheap production of synthetic materials with previously-determined characteristics, an adequate supply of nitrate-free products and effective means to combat disease.

As an example, let us take the problem of controlling a nuclear reaction. Until now there has been no clear idea

when, and most importantly, how this most complicated problem will be solved. Nevertheless the prognosis dealing with perspectives in the field is that following the present trend of research, it becomes a likelihood of the highest degree of certainty that practically unlimited quantities of energy will become available at fabulously low cost. It has come to where one cannot retreat. The expenditures will pay for themselves. Cosmonautics has its own attractive prospects. It promises us energy, new unique materials, and superclean drugs...

A peek into the future is helped by the project "Programs—2005." It is worked out by the Central Scientific Research Institute for Machine-Building after considering opinions, remarks, and proposals of building offices and scientific centers in the construction field, interests of the National Academy of Sciences of the USSR, ministries and organizations of the national economy—in a word, all who are interested in the utilization of cosmic technology for daily life on earth.

And thus, what kind of technology will come to replace the present? What tasks—scientific and economic—will it be able to undertake? How much will we have spent for its creation and what will we get for it?

**Communications.** In the course of the 13th, 14th and 15th five-year plans, planned satellites for communications and television will begin working in orbit. They will be "Granit," "Gelicon," "Granit-M," "Granit-2," "Gelicon-2" and "Informator" with enhanced use characteristics, increased range of fixed and mobile communications, and a working life of 5 to 6 years. From 1992 the transmission of all television programs will be by time zone, covering the entire country. Satellites will start direct transmissions to individual antennas.

**Geodesy.** The satellites "Etalon" and "GEO-IK", which are being prepared for launching, are intended to build highly accurate global and regional geodesic networks and to determine parameters of the earth's gravitational field. In the future we will have the capability of determining the coordinates of points on the geodesic networks with an accuracy to decimeter-size units.

**Cartography.** Today, more than 3,000,000 photographs, made from outer space, are used to assemble highly accurate maps for most varied uses. Every ruble spent here brings a five ruble profit. To survey inaccessible areas the gain becomes still larger. (Soviet satellites were the first to get photographs of the Antarctic massif). To compare the effectiveness of aerial and outer-space surveys, they favor outer space—1.7 rubles to 1.00.

**Navigation.** To navigate precisely at sea, in the air or on land, to determine one's coordinates, to evade typhoons and violent storms of the elements, and those who suffer natural calamities will be helped by satellites of the system "Glonass." It will consist of 24 satellites (8 of them in reserve) deployed in 3 orbital planes with 7-8 satellites in each. The precision of transmitting coordinates will be in meters, speeds—in centimeters per second. The satellite system of search and rescue, "Nadezhda-M," will acquire new capabilities.

**Meteorology. Stationary orbit satellites of the type "Electro" with television capabilities of receiving images in the visible and infrared portions of the spectrum will be added to the technical devices which are already functional. They will permit collecting data on the distribution of the cloud cover over equatorial and temperate latitudes on the light and dark sides of the earth, and speed and direction of the wind on 2-3 levels.**

**Investigation of Natural Resources.** Today we have all become aware of how alarming the condition of people on the planet has become with respect to food and energy supply and ecology. (There are 155,000 enterprises uncontrollably polluting the environment). Meanwhile, information obtained from outer space facilitates more intensive development of production capabilities, control and conservation of the natural environment. It is used to satisfy needs in geology, farming, forestry, fishing, water management, oceanography, land development, urban location, and construction. Big hopes in this field are placed in satellites of the types "Resurs" and "Okean," which are being created by the cosmic industry of the country.

**Technology.** The passage from experimental investigations to semi-production is now discussed. That will be followed by industrial production in outer space of various inorganic and organic materials and substances with improved characteristics by utilizing improved conductivity of physical processes under conditions of weightlessness. I will not give all examples—there are too many. I shall name only gallium arsenite. Its structure is such, that it permits electrons to travel 5 times as fast as in silicon. But silicon is the foundation of all contemporary electronics. Gallium arsenite—a compound of gallium and arsenic are two elements, which, by themselves, do not belong to the category of precious metals. However, its crystals are approximately 70 times as expensive as gold. They will be able to increase the speed of computers, and to act as precursors of a new era of use of solar energy.(Continuation to be published).

## Military

### Journal Publishes Military Budget Figures

*LD1009101689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 9 Sep 89*

[Text] The latest edition of PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK, a publication of the USSR Council of Ministers, carries the entire structure of the USSR budget between 1985 and 1988. These figures are published for the first time. The government has disclosed the tactic used for many years to conceal the truth about the financial situation in the country.

VESTNIK carries details of sections of the budget that were never made public before, spending on the Army

and Navy taking into account the purchase of weapons and hardware and the costs of research and development, incomes from foreign trade, and spending on foreign trade, and the entire internal debts of the country.

Up till now these sections of the budget were published under one heading and, as a result, incomes appeared to outweigh expenditures. That is the reason why the balance sheet of the Soviet state budget throughout these years looked good.

It follows from the published figures that over the past 4 years there has been dramatic decline in foreign trade revenues. It amounted to 8.5 billion rubles, or 13 billion dollars, while foreign trade spending has dramatically grown by 11 billion rubles, or 18 billion dollars.

Total military spending will amount to 77.3 billion rubles this year and the internal debt to 312 billion rubles. The external debt is 34 billion rubles. The budget deficit, also made public for the first time, is 120 billion [currency not specified]. Up till now lower figures have been published.

The Finance Ministry is at present completing the draft state budget for 1990.

## Yazov Signs Former General's Obituary

*PM1109105389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 First Edition p 4*

[Obituary of retired Colonel General S.K. Magometov]

[Excerpts] Retired Colonel General Saltan Kekkezovich Magometov, who took part in the Great Patriotic War, died in the 69th year of his life after a serious illness. He selflessly devoted his whole adult life to serving the motherland and to the work of the Communist party, which he belonged to from 1943. [passage omitted]

In the post-war years he held command posts in the Land Forces units and large strategic formations. He was first deputy commander of Transbaykal Military District and first deputy chief of the M.V. Frunze Military Academy. [passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, A.V. Betekhtin, M.D. Popkov, D.A. Grinkevich, V.N. Konchits, Yu.D. Zaytsev, A.S. Gudkov, A.F. Mishagin, I.M. Yeremin.